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PERMANENT ADDRESS:

...9219-...117th Street
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....

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EDUCATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT : THE CASE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "Education and National Development: The Case of Papua New Guinea", submitted by Geneva Eileen Kupfer in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

A.S.A. Mohsen
Supervisor

Date October 3, 1973

Dedicated to the Indigenous
Teachers of the Manus District
and to my good friend from
Lundret village, Bilomon Bosiih.

ABSTRACT

This study examined the inherent conflicts in utilizing western-style education as a tool for development in an emerging nation, Papua New Guinea. The data was gathered from extensive interviews with Indigenous teachers and from field work in the Manus District of Papua New Guinea in 1970-1971. The analysis of the data was made on two levels, micro and macro, and from the basic assumption that people must participate in planning for their own development.

The micro-level examined socialization and the formal educational process from the perspective and problems of the primary Indigenous teachers on Manus Island. The major group studied was comprised of teachers who were products of an evangelical protestant mission; teachers from the Catholic Mission Agency and from the government agency were used for comparative purposes. While western-style education has been extremely successful in the Manus District, at the same time, there have also been disfunctional elements. These were categorized and viewed in terms of the various "worlds" of the Indigenous teacher: the village, his educational process, his career as a teacher, and his role as an educated citizen.

The macro-level attempted to analyze educational problems of Papua New Guinea within the totality of the structure in which the teacher must operate. The evolution of the present educational system of Papua New Guinea, including that of the Manus District, was compared with the

parallel development of colonial policies for Indigenous welfare. Despite the fact that Australians have developed a complex and efficient educational system for Papua New Guinea, it was found that there is a basic incompatibility between colonial education and education for autonomous nationhood.

It was seen that historically the educational system did reflect the attitudes of those in control and that educational planning was hampered by confusion over the end-goals of development. Whether development would benefit colonial or Indigenous interests was an issue never completely settled and cannot be until Papua New Guinea has gained Independence and autonomous decision-making powers. Because of this lack of specific national purpose, education tended to become institutionalized and expanded as an end in itself or to serve the interests of those in control.

In contrast, the proposition that a functional educational system for a developing nation is one that educates its young for democratic participation in and planning for development was examined. By this definition, education functions specifically as a tool for development, with egalitarian human development as important as economic growth. Educational planning, therefore, must be within a framework of comprehensive national and ideological planning. To that end, this study also briefly examined three educational alternatives which were designed to incorporate these educational and national purposes. Comparisons were made between these alternatives and the situation in Papua New Guinea in 1971, and implications were discussed which would be relevant if Independence for Papua New Guinea means autonomous, self-reliant nationhood.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

Much has been written about the relationship between education and the process of development in the non-western world. When surveying this literature, it is apparent that most writers agree that education plays a key role in development. There is little agreement or even definite suggestions, however, as to the shape education should take in meeting developmental needs. In fact, there is little consensus among writers as to the meaning of development.[1]

Economic Models: While government agencies, missions, and some private individuals have been providing education for Indigenous[2] people for quite some time, the main recent legitimizers of exporting western-type education *en masse* to developing countries were economists. They made the basic assumption that development was synonymous with economic growth. Interested in promoting rapid economic growth, they developed various models which portrayed automatic return for dollars invested in education.[3] For the educators, these models were used to legitimize huge expenditures for educational expansion, further depleting the already scarce resources of developing nations. While the establishment and staffing of complete educational systems was a difficult task in an underdeveloped country, it was not believed to be an insurmountable one. Confronted with the challenge and with the promised development pay-off, western social engineers carefully constructed long-range plans, utilizing the educational system as the major tool for social and economic change. Often western teaching staffs were brought in to establish and to man the educational systems.

> Today education is the single biggest enterprise in developing countries. It employs more people and influences directly the lives of more people than any other organization apart from government itself. The expenditures on education are huge in relation to other governmental and private expenditures. The flow of foreign aid to education is exceeded only by the flow for military purposes. And yet education is not big enough, or at least is not effective enough.[4]

Failure of Ideal Models: A Twenty-Year Developmental Plan for Pakistan and the Ashby Report for Nigeria[5] are the two prime examples usually cited in developmental literature as ideal models of educational and manpower planning. Today, in both cases, it has become painfully obvious that "education western-style" is not an automatic guarantee for rapid development nor a panacea for societal ills. In fact, formal western-type education could be seen as having a disrupting effect on traditional societies. It has been suggested that educational inequality was a factor in Pakistan's and Nigeria's civil wars.

In new African nations, it has often been the mission-educated students who became the revolutionary leaders. In most developing countries the similarity of the social problems, which result largely from education, is striking: the creation of privileged elites, economic and social stratification, increasing dissatisfaction with village life, mass migrations to urban areas of the semi-skilled young people, and the increasing breakdown of traditional mores without adequate substitutes or controls. The list is quite extensive. While these problems cannot be solely the direct result of an imported style of education, nevertheless, they do point up some basic dilemmas involved in any process of educational planning for modernization.

> ...National leaders and others concerned with education in developing countries are beginning to question not only the relevance of but the contribution which the Western-type education can make in meeting the needs of their countries... the tremendous hope which the developing countries placed in Western-type education in the immediate post war period, as the major means of transforming their economic and social structures, has not materialized to any significant extent despite the large proportion of their budgets which these countries have been spending on education.[6]

The Attempt to Define the Role of Education

Increasingly, disciplines other than economics and education have become interested in ~~defining~~ the role of education both at home and in developing countries. Among these professions newly interested in defining educational goals are sociologists of education, educational psychologists, political scientists, and professionals in the more practically-oriented fields such as Community Development. These professionals are beginning to question the validity of applying western educational models with their accompanying values, goals, and techniques to other, non-western settings. The formerly pragmatic approach to educational analysis has dramatically shifted to a philosophical questioning of what the educational process is doing to "people" as well as to the social and political structures which have evolved to satisfy individual needs.

> ...education is always something both greater and smaller than economic patterns; it is a process rooted in the lives of very real human beings, in the societies they have inherited, and in the better lives they hope to create for themselves and their children. Within this context education may be judged to be receiving little support or great support; it may be judged to be serving well or serving ill the aspirations of the people whose servant it legitimately is.[7]

Macro-View: In order to examine whether or not education is serving the needs of the people, it becomes necessary to analyze the educational process in developing countries from an inter-disciplinary point of view. Some of the most basic and most confusing dilemmas in educational planning for a developing country are embedded in four deceptively simple questions: Education for What? Education of Whom? Education by Whom? and Education by What Processes? The search for answers to the above questions leads a serious investigator in many directions, ending again at the beginning. Tentative answers to each question are inter-related and ultimately lead the search out of the educational field to political and social questions of national values and goals. In Asian Drama,[8] Gunnar Myrdal discusses his concept of "vicious cycles". He emphasizes that education cannot be separated from the social, economic and political problems of a nation. Therefore, a search for an understanding of these inter-relationships necessitates a macro-approach to educational analysis, an attempt to "see the whole" before answering the question, "Education for What?"

Despite the complexity of this macro-interdisciplinary viewpoint, it can only yield a partial picture. It is not sufficient to claim that "narrow visioned" educational planners are producing undesirable and unintended consequences for developing countries. In order to establish some validity for the claim, it is essential to attempt to isolate the factors at the very core of the educational process -- a micro, but also inter-disciplinary, point of view.

Micro-View: Planning for education and development, of whatever magnitude and performed with great skill and wisdom (which it seldom is), ultimately succeeds or fails on an individual basis. This individual result is then multiplied many times over, with individual variations, within a society. To ignore this very basic aspect of educational planning is to court failure of even the most sophisticated educational plans.

The individual, then, becomes the primary focus of this study. Through the individual and how he relates to the educational process, one can project back to the total group, hopefully having a better understanding of national patterns and problems in education. Some of the basic questions to be investigated are:

1. What are the socialization and educational patterns for the individual?

2. Are there inherent conflicts in the different patterns of socialization and learning essential for survival in the diverse worlds of the village and modern, developed society?
3. What are the individual's perceptions and feelings concerning these socialization and educational processes and how do they relate to his ability to function between the two worlds?
4. Are these conflicts disfunctional to education and its contribution to development?

THE SETTING OF THE STUDY

Introduction to the Territory of Papua New Guinea

Political and Geographical Boundaries: The Territory of Papua New Guinea was one of the last areas of the world to come under colonial rule. This somewhat dubious honor probably worked in favor of the inhabitants since the process of colonialization was beginning to prick the consciences of many nations. Now under an Australian administration, the territory has had a series of colonial masters: Germany, England and Australia, with brief occupations by the Japanese and the Americans.

The main island of New Guinea is presently divided politically into two parts. Formerly a Dutch colony, West Irian is now controlled by the Republic of Indonesia. There is almost a complete separation, politically and socially, between West Irian and the rest of the island's population. The eastern half is again divided into two sections: The Territory of Papua and the Territory of New Guinea, both of which are also comprised of many smaller islands just off their coasts. (See Papua New Guinea Map) While these two sections are now jointly administered by Australia, they have had somewhat separate histories of contact with the western world and separate policies of development. The Papua New Guinea Act, passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1949, made a legal distinction between the Territories.

> ...the intention of the Commonwealth government to maintain the separate identity of New Guinea as a trust territory. Separate statistics are compiled for each territory and the national status of the indigenous inhabitants is also separate; however, from the administrative standpoint, the two Territories are a single unit... In more recent years the emphasis has changed; the United Nations has called on Australia to take measures to encourage a sense of nationhood by adopting a national flag, anthem, and a single name for the Territories.[9]

It is expected that the Territory of Papua New Guinea will become independent within the next few years. In fact, the new Australian Labour government, elected in December of 1972, has promised independence before the end of 1973. While the Australian administration has been attempting a process of indigenization, many of the local people, as well as the European administrators, are apprehensive concerning the Territory's ability to cope effectively with its problems after independence.

It is impossible to discuss the educational system or its problems

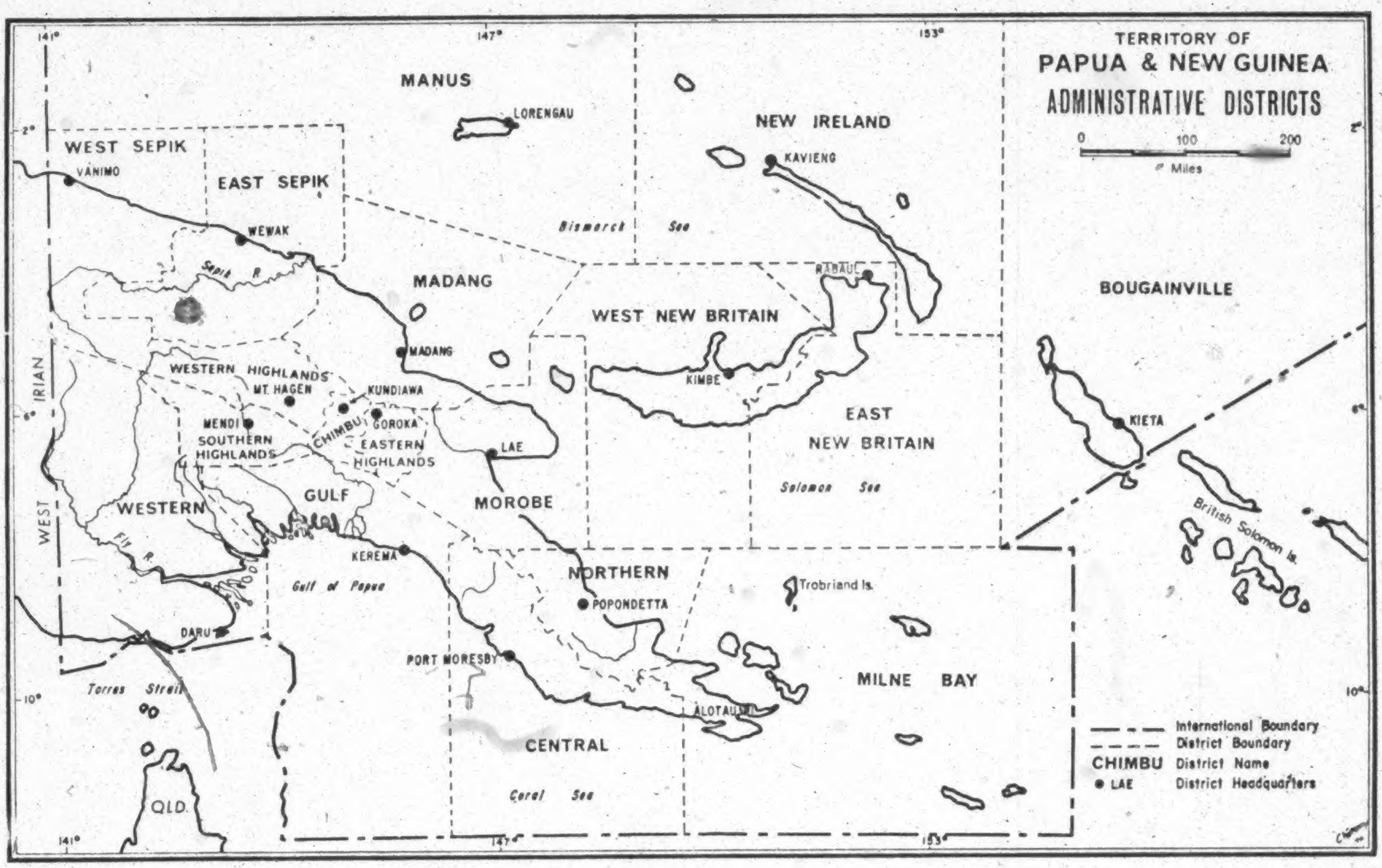

TERRITORY OF
PAPUA & NEW GUINEA
ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS
0
100
200
Miles
141°
147°
153°
2°
6°
10°
MANUS
LORENGAU
NEW IRELAND
KAVIENG
WEST SEPIK
VANIMO
EAST SEPIK
WEWAK
Sepik R.
Bismarck Sea
MADANG
MADANG
WEST NEW BRITAIN
RABAUL
KIMBE
EAST NEW BRITAIN
Solomon Sea
BOUGAINVILLE
KIETA
British Solomon Is.
WESTERN HIGHLANDS
MT. HAGEN
KUNDIAWA
CHIMBU
GOROKA
EASTERN HIGHLANDS
MENDI
SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS
LAE
MOROBE
WESTERN
GULF
Fly R.
KEREMA
Gulf of Papua
DARU
NORTHERN
POPONDETTA
Trobriand Is.
MILNE BAY
ALOTAU
PORT MORESBY
CENTRAL
Coral Sea
Torres Strait
QLD.
WEST IRIAN
International Boundary
District Boundary
CHIMBU District Name
LAE District Headquarters

FIGURE 1

in the Territory of Papua New Guinea without an historical review of the various governments in power, their philosophies, attitudes and policies. In contrasting the Papuan area with the New Guinea area, one sees that the problems of Indigenous education were approached from two different philosophies, but both approaches were limited by these philosophies as well as by finances, public European attitudes[11], incompetencies of people and rather turbulent historical events.[12] Neither approach attempted to analyze the problems from the native's perspective nor from his perception of his needs -- a perspective which colonialism cannot incorporate.

History of Western Contact

The people of Papua New Guinea are experts in survival, living basically a subsistence existence in a tropical, mountainous and ocean environment. Their adjustment to western civilization closely parallels their adjustments to the occasional violence of their physical world. These basically subsistence people, either farmers or islanders, have survived many types of culture contact. Many physical and social adaptations are obvious to the casual observer; the emotional and cultural adaptations are not so readily seen, but are no less real.

The Adventurer: Biskup claims there is justification for the old explanation that Europeans claim new lands for reasons of "God, Glory and Gold."[13] Papua New Guinea was no exception. The first white men to make contact with the islanders were not the best representatives of colonial society -- even of that day. Explorers, traders, whalers and sealers came as early as the 1700's for various interests of their own. Soon, some of these enterprising seafaring men solved the labour shortages of European plantations on Fiji, Samoa or Queensland, a later state of Australia. Their solution was a modified form of slave labour known as "Black Birding".[14] And so, the first contacts with white men were relationships marked with deceit, violence and the disruption of village and cultural patterns.

The Missionary: The second group of white men to make contact were the missionaries who arrived in Papua New Guinea well before any European administration was established in the area. The French, Dutch, English and Germans attempted to establish mission organizations, most with little success, prior to 1900. It is claimed that during the early years more missionaries died of fever than there were converts made.[15]

Western-style education began in Papua New Guinea with the coming of the missionary. In order to teach the Indigene about God, it was first necessary to gain the confidence of the people, learn the language, and develop a phonetic alphabet and grammar for that language. Translation is a cultural as well as linguistic task, as the missionaries discovered when they struggled to find concepts in the local culture that were similar to the Biblical concepts they came to teach. "Linguistic and cultural hindrances demand the greatest skill from the missionary. The frontier across which the man in one culture may probe into the mind of one in the other is narrow and difficult...".[16] They often failed to find corresponding meanings, and the basis of many cross-cultural misunderstandings can be traced to this failure. In fact, Lawrence in his book, Road Belong Cargo, traces much of the Cargo Cult movement to these conceptual misunderstandings.[17]

Despite the problems, some recognized, some not, there was much work to be done. Schools were established, adults taught to read, write and count. The "educated" native, after a few years of schooling, was immediately sent out to nearby villages where he established another mission school and repeated the process.

As needs arose, the missionary, with typical western enthusiasm and know-how, solved the problems. He taught the native to plant coconut trees in rows, the endless rows became plantations, and some missions became self-supporting. They established saw mills, basket weaving shops, printing shops, trade stores -- all to fill a mission need or to be a source of revenue. Since practical work in agriculture or in a trade was useful as training for the Indigene, vocational schools were also established.

In these ways, the early missionary practiced the "program" aspect of Community Development without the "process".[18] It is obvious from the writings of the early missionaries that they did not consider the native capable of planning for his own direction; he was a child to be trained -- or disciplined. Rev. Dr. J. Flierl, an early German Missionary, wrote, "The natives are mere children and some of them very naughty children."[19] It should be said, however, that the early missionary was concerned with the welfare of the Indigene as were few other white men of his day. It was basically through his efforts that the practice of "blackbirding" first came to the attention of England. He is also given credit for demanding of the governments in power more humane native policies involving Indigenous recruitment and working conditions. One may quarrel with his methods, his philosophies, or his inherent right to practice the outworkings of his beliefs, but one must judge him within the context of his colonial day.

Whether judged positively or negatively, it is a fact that the mission was the main agency for education until quite some time after the Second World War when the Australian government established an education department and set up policies to standardize mission and government education. To this day, the missions are a vital part of the educational system. Because of limited funds and personnel, the government's educational administration needs the mission to assist in carrying out its program, and, for the same reasons, the mission needs the administration.

Many Indigenous teachers are being incorporated into the educational system and will be expected to continue its administration after independence; the difficulties will be great. The system is costly, complicated, and oriented to a colonial administration. The Indigenous teacher, while teaching a standardized curriculum, often does not clearly understand what he is teaching; neither does he see the relevance or importance of much of what he must teach.

The Administrator: . The third group of white men were the administrators of the various governments and the law enforcement officers recruited to carry out Indigenous policies. Central administrations were established in both territories in 1884. Britain had claimed Papua as a British protectorate, partially in recognition that it had a responsibility for the actions of its citizens toward the Indigenous population in such practices as blackbirding. Germany annexed the New Guinea side and encouraged European settlement and missionization. However, in 1906, the British turned Papua over to the protection of Australia, and, in 1914, following the First World War, New Guinea was made an Australian mandate under the United Nations (then League of Nations). Both Papua and New Guinea were then under the direct control of Australia, but each side continued to be separately administered, and different developmental philosophies were pursued.

Since 1914, "...most of the nearly two million people have been brought under administrative control...the intensity of government influence has varied with accessibility."[20] Some tribes have been contacted for as long as nine decades; others have only seen Europeans within the last few years. From the beginning, control meant "physical control" -- an absolute authority over the Indigene and his actions. Rowley calls the establishment of control an "act of conquest".[21] Many books have been written about the adventures of young administrative officers who sought to pacify the warring tribes and establish the "Christian" policy of "love thy neighbor". It is a bit ironic that killing was used to teach the native that it is "wrong" to kill.

Following pacification of an area, methods of administration were established by Australians, modeled after Australian policies, and often for the benefit of Australian settlers who were encouraged to establish their homes, and begin the process of "developing" this new land.

> Government policy toward New Guinea hinges on two main issues: that of protection of native interests and promotion of native welfare on the one hand, and that of accommodating the demands of private enterprise on the other. These issues, both primarily concerned with land and the regulation of labour, are really incompatible.[22]

Results of Cross-Cultural Contact

It is probably fortunate for the future independence of Papua New Guinea that it was an inhospitable country. Thousands of settlers died from tropical diseases; the jungles reclaimed land newly cleared, and few natural resources were found on which to base development. As a result, comparatively few Europeans think of Papua New Guinea as "home"; most are temporary workers in a foreign country. The types of jobs available in Papua New Guinea for Europeans are teaching, technical advisors, administrators, plantation managers, doctors and nurses, missionaries and those who are providing "services" to the Territories.

Australia was forced, with the aid of the United Nations, to deal with Papua New Guinea as a country to be developed and returned someday to the Indigenous people "when they are ready". Various developmental policies were chosen, based on certain assumptions of how Indigenous people could be made "ready" -- and how quickly this could happen. However, these developmental policies, once chosen, were adversely affected by factors extraneous to the policy itself -- two world wars, lack of available financing from Australia, lack of technical knowledge, etc. And the policies themselves changed in response to changing leadership in the Australian government and the differing philosophies of development held by different political organizations. One might even say that "lack of policy" during various phases of development was as crucial a factor in the direction of change as policy formation itself.

An examination of the history of contact with the Indigenous people of Papua New Guinea shows that indeed Australia was a colonialist country -- and perhaps it could not have been otherwise. However, this colonialization process produced results fairly equivalent to those in other colonized nations.

First, the changes are not always obvious in a vast country similar to Papua New Guinea. It could seem to an inexperienced observer that literally nothing had happened.

> Long contact by the coasts with the outside world has produced the regimented pattern of coconuts in the best areas, part plantation and part village owned. But up in the silent mountains, where the mist hangs and rises from the waterfalls, are gardens of communities so isolated that the people may still refer to themselves as "the men"; their hamlets are still out on the ends of the ridges in the best positions for defence. From the air one may see how slight an impression on the wilderness man has made, outside the

> heavily peopled valleys of the highlands of the big island, and parts of the coasts. ...the impression is not so much that of industrial man transforming the ways of the primitive hamlet, but of the slightness of the impact of all human history on this land.[23]

Second, complicated and difficult organizations were established in order to teach Indigenous peoples the process of administering their own country. The provision of basic non-western education and the provision of skills along lines of manpower planning presents an inherent dilemma:

> Most of the colonial powers had their philosophies of "development", and their policies were sincerely enough intended to bring to the colonial peoples the best they knew .... It was natural enough that the futures they planned involved political and social evolution towards their own images of themselves.[24]

It is clear that to learn all that is necessary to be able to staff and administrate a new country will take a very long period of time. Independence will come before Papua New Guineans have learned to become "Black Australians" who are "ready" to carry on "their Australian heritage".

Third, contact with an industrialized society brings a desire to the people of an underdeveloped country to share in the obvious advantages and wealth of the more advanced country. Economic growth tends to become the implantation in a society of an "infinite spiral of needs" -- desires in excess of actual need. The creation of these needs and their ultimate provision, plus creation of more needs, becomes the process of growth. Yet, within this process lies the destruction of kinship and village ties, the destruction of the original society, and the resulting confusion between the old and the new. Consideration of all aspects of a country's well-being, or development in its fullest sense, would eliminate this emphasis on uneven growth.

Fourth, frustration and anger are the products of the subjection of one people to a~~nother, true~~ even in benevolent colonialism. The history of contact -- pacification, establishment of control and enforcement of policies -- is the imposition of one culture upon another. The people often outwardly conform or adapt to the imposed systems and controls without understanding -- and without inward conformity and assent.

> ... the imposition of an outside authority creates great stress without basically changing a system of belief at the core of the social organization, so that men react to the stress in accordance with beliefs and *mores* often quite irreconcilable with what is now required of them.[25]

If the history of independence movements elsewhere holds true also for Papua New Guinea, there will be a time in the near future when the European is forced to leave. Tensions are already present in the Territory and the Indigenous people are becoming more vocal in their discontent with an administration which gives obvious priorities to the Europeans within their country.

Introduction to the Manus District: A Product of Western-Style Education

During the academic year of 1970-1971, the author spent eight months living in the Manus District of Papua New Guinea on Manus Island. The Manus District is the smallest district of Papua New Guinea in terms of population, 21,951 people of which 486 are non-indigenous.[26] The total district spans approximately 8,000 square miles of which only 800 square miles are land.[27] The 160 islands scattered over this vast expanse are divided into two island groups, the Admiralties and the Western Islands. Manus Island is the largest island of the group, fifty miles long and approximately twenty miles at the widest part, a few yards wide at the narrowest. The steep slopes of the range of mountains which runs the entire length of the island are segmented by short, swift rivers and dotted with a dense rain forest. The staple foods of taro, sweet potato, sago, banana and coconut are grown and harvested along the mountain slopes; fish is the main diet supplement.

The Manus District has been under European control since 1911 when the Germans established the administrative center at Lorengau, the largest urban center on the island. The first mission school was established in 1914, and now there are both mission and administration schools in the district. The Missions working on Manus include the Catholics, the Evangelical Mission, formerly called The Libenzell Mission, and the Seventh Day Adventists. Because of this long period of contact, schooling is wide-spread in the district. Almost every small village has a school belonging either to one of the missions or to the administration. Students from Manus are studying at every higher institute of learning in Papua New Guinea, and one of the highest ratios of students enrolled in the new University of Papua New Guinea is from Manus. Since earliest contact, its people have been sought after for positions of responsibility and authority all over the Territory. The Manus District has been highly successful education-wise; the main export of Manus is its people.

Yet, despite its educational successes, Manus is considered to be an especially depressed area economically. In her study, published in 1971, Ruth Finney selected the Manus District, along with the Madang coastal area of the mainland, as two examples of economically stagnant areas in Papua New Guinea.[28] There are few natural resources; the soil is red clay, poor for growing anything besides the subsistence foods. Attempts to introduce cocoa, rubber and coffee have met with little success. The production of copra from coconuts, grown on European-owned plantations and on a few native-owned groves, is the main cash crop. The comparatively few areas which are flat enough for cattle grazing prohibits large enough herds for profitable cattle ranching. A fish freezing unit was recently built in Lorengau, and more modern fishing methods were introduced, yet the fishing is dominated by Japanese fleets with modern processing plants on board the ships. The area is presently being explored for deposits of copper ore. Europeans and Chinese own the trade stores in town. The main opportunity for Indigenous ownership is the small trade stores in outlying villages. However, these are more similar to cooperatives than profit-making businesses. There are few opportunities for wage employment, and therefore little opportunity for the educated Indigene to return to Manus in a productive capacity. Employment is sought in other parts of Papua

New Guinea, although many express the desire to return to the district if there were opportunities for jobs.

For these reasons, the Manus District can be seen as a microcosm containing many of the developmental dilemmas which face any developing country. Because of its relative isolation and smallness, the relationships between education and development can be more easily investigated. This miniature environment presents a unique opportunity for study and speculation concerning developmental problems in other developing nations.

THE PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

The Manus District presents a seeming contradiction to the theories concerning the relationship between education and economic growth. While the formal educational system has been termed as highly successful when measured by the number of students it has processed and/or by their resulting success in higher educational and training institutions, yet the Manus District is considered to be an economically depressed area. While money is being sent back to the Manus District by its educated youth, there is no self-sustaining economic development. In addition, the District is beginning to manifest many of the social problems previously discussed concerning other developing countries. It was believed by the author that an analysis of the educational system from the perspective and needs of the Indigenous people would reveal some basic conflicts in utilizing western-type education as a tool for development in a non-western setting.

Analysis of Inherent Conflicts in Western-Style Education

Therefore, this study attempted to examine the inherent conflicts in utilizing western-style education as a tool for development in a non-western setting, Papua New Guinea. The special focus of the study was the Manus District. The analysis of the educational system was approached at two levels: the macro-view and the micro-view, and from the basic assumption that true development must provide for Indigenous participation in the decision-making process as well as sharing equitably in the benefits of that development. Chapters I and II outline the problem generally and present the methodology used.

Chapter III presents the macro-view: a descriptive analysis of the historical evolution of the educational system of Papua New Guinea, including that of the Manus District. It compares this development with the growth of parallel Administration policies for Indigenous welfare. A comparison is also made between colonial education, such as Papua New Guinea's, and the educational requirements necessary for autonomous nationhood.

The micro-view is an analysis of the individual education process from the perspective of the Indigenous teachers of the Evangelical Mission of Manus Island, Chapter IV. This analysis examines the various "worlds" of the Indigenous teacher: his village socialization, his formal educational process, his career as teacher, and his role as an educated citizen. It attempts to isolate and categorize areas of conflict and discontinuity between these differing worlds. Teachers from the Administration and from the Catholic Mission Agency are used for comparative purposes.

Development of Guidelines for an Alternative Educational System

In Chapter V, utilizing the conclusions and implications of this research, as well as the literature on education and development, the study attempts to develop some guidelines for an educational system which would be functional for a developing nation. It examines the proposition that a functional educational system is one that educates its young people for creative participation in and planning for the continued development of that country.

In Chapter VI, the implications of introducing an educational system which is an outgrowth of the Indigenous society and its needs -- past, present and future, are discussed. The special possibilities and problems involved in using the Indigenous teacher as an agent of social change are also considered.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Dudley Seers, "The Meaning of Development," International Development Review, V. II, No. 4 (December, 1969), p. 2. He says, "While it is very slipshod for us to confuse development with economic development and economic development with economic growth, it is nevertheless very understandable. We can after all fall back on the supposition that increases in national income, if they are faster than the population growth, sooner or later lead to the solution of the social and political problems.

"But the experience of the past decade makes this belief look rather naive. Social problems and political upheavals have emerged in countries at all stages of development. Moreover, we can see that these afflict countries with rapidly rising per capita incomes as well as those with stagnant economies. In fact, it looks as if economic growth may not merely fail to solve social and political difficulties; certain types of growth can actually cause them."

Dudley Seers would define 'Economic Growth' as "raising of the Gross National Product" or G.N.P.; 'Economic Development' refers to self-sustaining development; and 'Development' is all aspects of a country's general well-being, not just economic factors.

Concerning all aspects of development, he reduces the definition to three general aspects necessary for the realization of the potential of human personality.

"The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result 'development', even if per capita income doubled." (p. 3).

[2] Local people in Papua New Guinea prefer the term 'Indigene' to the term 'Native' when reference is made to the Non-European population, Therefore, throughout the thesis, the terms Indigene or Indigenous are capitalized to indicate acknowledgement of this preference.

[3] Frederick Harbison and Charles Myers, Manpower and Education (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1965). Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama: An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1968, V. III). T.W. Schultz, The Economic Value of Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963). John Vaizey, Economics of Education (London: Faber and Faber, 1962).

[4] John Hanson and Cole Brembeck, Education and the Development of Nations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), vi.

[5] Plan for Nigeria: Sir Eric Ashby, et. al., Investment in Education: The Report of the Commission of Post Primary School Certification and Higher Education in Nigeria (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education, 1960). Plan for Pakistan: This plan is a series of five year plans concerning the development of the country. Pakistan, Government of, National Planning Board, The First Five Year Plan, 1955-60 (Karachi: December, 1957, V. I). The other reports for Pakistan's development were published along the same procedures. Planning for education was also emphasized in a report known as The Karachi Plan of 1959. UNESCO and ECAFE (Report of Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asian Member States Pact, Final Report, Bangkok, 1962).

[6] J.K. Bacchus, "Some Developments and Problems of Teacher Education in the Third World," (Paper delivered at the Conference on Teacher Education and International Relations, University of Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada, October, 1971), pp. 7, 8.

[7] Hanson and Brembeck, op. cit., p. 14.

[8] Myrdal, op. cit.

[9] Peter Ryan, editor, Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, V.I (Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1972), p. 391.

[10] Map of Papua New Guinea reproduced from Brian Jinks, New Guinea Government: An Introduction (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1971), viii.

[11] European Definition: Probably because so many different countries have been involved in Papua New Guinea over the years, the word "European" is broadly used there to refer to any person of European descent -- regardless of his citizenship. The use is fairly synonymous with that of "Ex-patriot", also commonly used to denote a "white" person living and working in the Territory. It will be similarly used throughout this paper, unless specifically stated otherwise.

[12] D.J. Dickson, "Murray and Education: Policy in Papua, 1906 - 1941," *New Guinea Quarterly*, V. 4, December, 1969 to January, 1970, pp. 15-40. C.D. Rowley, *The Australians in German New Guinea 1914 - 1921* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1958).

[13] P. Biskup, B. Jinks and H. Nelson, *A Short History of New Guinea* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1968), ch. 2.

[14] Edward W. Docker, *The Blackbirders* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, Ltd., 1970).

[15] Biskup, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

[16] C.D. Rowley, *The New Guinea Villager: A Retrospect from 1964* (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1965), p. 133.

[17] Peter Lawrence, *Road Belong Cargo* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1964).

[18] Charles Hynam, "Community Development: An Example of Conceptual Confusion," in *Perspectives on Regions and Regionalism* (WASA Proceedings, Banff, Alberta, 1968), pp. 193-198.

Dr. Hynam separates the process and program of Community Development. He sees "process" as being social animation -- that which is done to involve people in decision making and planning for social change for themselves. He sees "program" as that which is provided by the government or an agency to develop this human potential.

[19] Biskup, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[20] Rowley, *New Guinea Villagers*, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[22] Diana Howlegg, *A Geography of Papua and New Guinea* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, Ltd., 1967), p. 139.

[23] Rowley, *New Guinea Villagers*, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

[26] Ryan, op. cit., p. 698.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 695.

[28] Ruth Finney, *Would-Be Entrepreneurs? A Study of Motivation in New Guinea* (Boroko, Papua New Guinea: New Guinea Research Bulletin, No. 41, 1971).

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Methodological Tasks

There were five basic methodological tasks involved in the research reported in this thesis. Each will be briefly described and the procedures outlined.

Historical Documentation of the Evolution of School System: The change from village, parent-child education to that of a formal educational system, which is controlled by a non-Indigenous government, is a formidable factor in the results of culture contact in a developing country. Therefore, to gain understanding of the total educational process and its specific problems, one must historically document the evolution of the educational system and investigate the parallel development of colonial policies for the Indigenous people. This task was basically a library search in which the author constructed two rough time-lines: one a listing of major historical developments in Papua New Guinea with an emphasis on the attitudes toward the Indigene of those colonials who were in office during those events; the second time-line consisted of the major developments educationally during these periods of time. The attitudes of those administrators, together with beliefs current in the contemporary dominant society, shaped educational policy. It was also seen that there was a definite lack of control in policy formation -- that historical events, lack of specific know-how, etc. also played a great part in policy formation.

Ascertaining the Perspective of the Indigenous Teacher: The second methodological task of this study was to describe as closely as possible the socialization and educational process, present teaching careers, and perceived educational problems from the perspective of the Indigenous teacher. An attempt was made to understand the framework through which each teacher viewed these various stages. Therefore, special emphasis was placed on perceptual and evaluative definitions by the teacher.

1. Village Socialization - This aspect of the Manus teachers has been extensively documented in Margaret Mead's study of Peri, a Manus village. Written in 1928, Growing Up in New Guinea was basically a description of child raising patterns.[1] She re-visited Peri in 1953 and updated many of her ideas in New Lives for Old and summarized her ideas of social change.[2] Interestingly enough, the Indigenous teachers of the present study were babies about this time, since the average age of the Indigenous teacher of this study is approximately 23. Therefore, if her study has applicability to other villages on Manus Island, her data would be pertinent to the early socialization patterns of the present teachers.

2. Educational - There is an inherent conflict in the socialization patterns for village life and for life in the European world as a

student or as a teacher. This discontinuity and its impact upon the Indigenous teacher was mainly deduced from the interview schedule as the teacher related factual and emotional data concerning his educational process. It was also revealed in the analysis of the results of the educational system at a macro-level -- the migration to the city, the dissatisfactions with village life, etc.

3. National - The aspect of the Indigenous teacher as an educated citizen was discussed in the interview schedule in questions dealing with national readiness for independence. It was also deduced from literature dealing with necessary requirements for participation in development of a nation's citizens. Much of this material was also based on the experiences of other developing nations.

Analysis of the Data from a Social-Psychological Framework: The third methodological task was to analyze the educational process from within a social psychological and educational framework. Basically, learning is the integration of unfamiliar concepts into an organized whole. This process is directed toward achieving order and simplicity. Mental and emotional phenomena are organized, co-existing, and interdependent; they cannot be isolated from the whole. The physical aspects of the individual are also vitally interlocked with the emotional and mental aspects. Motivation arises from the perception of an imbalance or an incongruence in the phenomenological fields. (Festinger, Kelman, Katz, Rogers).[3] However, fear, or perceived threat can utilize one's energies towards defending the self, thereby diminishing the strength of the motivation to learn. There are many implications for education which can be derived from this wholistic orientation.

The second major social-psychological concept is that education is a basic socializing agent for any society. Through the educational process, children internalize the norms and aspiration of their society, as well as learn the skills necessary for survival in it. From a symbolic interactionist point of view, the individual is formed by his society through social interaction, yet, he is also able to re-act upon that society in a creative, innovating manner. (Mead, Benedict, Berger)[4]. Therefore, the basis of social change, while admittedly slow, is inherent within any society and within its educational structures. The conflict between the village-oriented educational process and the western-oriented educational system also has many implications for the development of a new country. The resulting conflict, unless recognized and dealt with, can be an anti-development force in an emerging nation.

Analysis of the Functionality of the System: The fourth task was to analyze what was "happening to people" in their educational process through their own perspective, through the social-psychological perspective, the historical perspective, and the system perspective. From these bases, an attempt was made to see in what ways the present educational system was disfunctional for development. Is it producing adverse results? What are the changes in the villages as education becomes more prevalent? Is the present educational system related to the migration to the city and the breakdown of family and village authority? By asking questions of this type, an attempt was made to categorize the kinds of problems that "people", their villages, and their country are facing as a result of the educational process.

A Search for Alternatives: Following the categorization of the types of problems that education is facing in Papua New Guinea, both from the perspective of the individual teacher and from the national development perspective, a search for alternatives took place. What processes would eliminate or alleviate the problems? It was at this point that the research returned to the macro-level. The effects on the individual of national policies (or lack of policies) was evident. Without returning to the source of decision-making, any attempts to alleviate specific problems would only be stop-gap measures. It was obvious that there must be coordination between the individual and/or community developmental needs and national ones. Again, a review of current literature was invaluable here. The author researched current ideas in the educational field. Ways in which Tanzania and China were coordinating their educational and developmental problems were also explored. Guidelines for a more viable educational system were set up which were consistent with balanced development, as well as with the "felt needs" of the Indigenous teachers.

Use of Theoretical Perspectives

Sensitizing Concepts: The theoretical approaches which were used as tools for analysis of the educational system, the problems of the Indigenous teacher and the requirements for development are not rigorous or definitive. They can only be utilized as sensitizing concepts which gives the user "...a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances".[6] Severyn Bruyn, in elaborating on the above definition by Blumer, stated that sensitizing concepts

> ...give a sense of reference, a general orientation, rather than a precise definition, to a phenomenon under study. ... the meanings of sensitizing concepts are not communicated by formal definitions, but are communicated 'by means of exposition which yields a meaningful picture, abetted by apt illustrations which enable one to grasp the reference in terms of one's own experience'.[7]

Framework of Inter-related Concepts: This study does not attempt to analyze theoretically the specific relationships between education and the social psycological and educational theories presented here. Instead, it seeks to build a framework of inter-related concepts which will be useful in gaining a better understanding of the difficulties involved in colonial education in developing countries. Deutsch and Krauss support this type of approach.

> Theories are intellectual tools for organizing data in such a way that one can make inferences...they serve as guides to the investigation, explanation, organization, and discovery of matters of observable fact.[8]

Statement of Community Development Philosophy: The basic philosophical background to this thesis is the belief in the value of the individual: that each man, together with those in his community, has the right to plan for and to participate in the changes which directly affect his life. Community Development is a process in which the community participates in its own choice of development. Biddle and Biddle define Community Development as a "social process by which people become more competent to live effectively in their changing world"[9]. Ross states that Community Development is an "emphasis on locally developed solutions to locally perceived problems... . Choice for and the direction of change should be internal to the client community"[10].

The difficulty in the above definitions is that they emphasize the individual and community aspect of development, while ignoring the national aspect. How does this process relate to national goals and planning? Albert attempts to combine both the micro level with the macro level of planning and change in his definition of Community Development as being "the harmonious combination of local human resources with human and technical resources of the larger society. The client community must assert choices in this combination"[11].

There is a need to measure any kind of development, and the resulting transformations, within the total scope of what is happening to "people" -- economically, politically, socially, or culturally. To develop a people or a nation in any one way is not balanced development and must procede at the expense of another way.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Necessary Pre-requisites to Cross-Cultural Research

It has often been argued that questionnaires are not as useful in a cross-cultural setting; often a researcher comes with pre-conceived ideas and a pre-set questionnaire. He then attempts to force the local situation to fit into this prior framework. The charge is often justified.

Malinowski, the pioneer of anthropological research in Papua New Guinea, was acutely aware of this problem many years ago when he was assessing even the basic question-and-answer method of early research.

> ...working by the question and answer method can again collect only opinion, generalizations, and bald statements. He (the researcher) gives us no reality for he has never seen it. The touch of ridicule which hangs about most writings...is due to the artificial flavor of a statement torn out of its life context.... We can only plead for the speedy and complete disappearance from the records of field work the piecemeal items of information...floating in the air, or rather leading a flat existence on paper without the third dimension, that of life, completely lacking.[12]

These criticisms seem especially true when research is to be conducted in a situation which is completely foreign to the researcher's natural environment. It is unique to suddenly be in a totally different setting; people, language, culture, even plants and animals are all unfamiliar.

In order to avoid the problems inherent in the above criticisms, the investigator must become a student of his new environment, as well as of his topic for investigation, before he can become a researcher. Much learning must take place before he can even begin to formulate categories and classifications. For example, in learning the language, one progresses through a process much the same as those involved when a child learns to read.

Stages of Methodological Operation: Becker and Geer, in their three stages of methodological operation[13], fail to mention the prior stage of investigation which is a thorough process of socialization into whatever world is being studied. In the case of a completely foreign environment, it is even more important. This process is essential before one can begin to ask relevant questions, let alone select and define relevant problems. This is especially true of studies where the researcher is new to the culture under study.

Following this first socialization process, Becker and Geer's stages are fairly descriptive of the processes which are involved in investigation:

1. Select and define problems, concepts, and indices,
2. Check on the frequency and distribution of phenomena,
3. Incorporate individual findings into a model of the organization under study.[14]

Wiseman used Becker and Geer's categorization, but found it was only loosely applicable to her research and must be applied less rigidly than it would seem to indicate.

> Becker and Geer further suggest that each of these stages is mutually exclusive and follows in logical time sequence. In this study, however, the goals of the research required moving back and forth between analytical operations of all stages. Attempts to apprehend and reconstruct the belief systems or perspectives of another may involve both induction and deduction... .
>
> ... When large 'portions' of a model of the world view of the subjects and how it works have been pieced together, the researcher can begin to reason from the general to the particular. This may cause further adjustments so the researcher will revert to working in the other direction again.[15]

Combination of Approaches

The research for this study was a combination of three basically diverse approaches so as to eliminate as many unwarranted assumptions and pre-conceived errors as possible.

1. Review of relevant literature,
2. Participant observation, and
3. Formulation and administration of an interview schedule to Indigenous teachers.

Each successive approach was additive, as well as a cross-checking of ideas, observations, and perceptions drawn from the previous stage. Because of their interdependence, these three approaches cannot be divided into clear-cut time sequences, as affirmed by Wiseman. However, each phase will be discussed separately for convenience and clarity.

The Review of Literature: Reviews of literature were incorporated in the body of the text. Since this thesis was an attempt at an interdisciplinary approach to the problems of western-oriented education in an under-developed country, source material came from many different disciplines. Basically, there were four major literature categories from which specific assumptions have been made.

The first was the historical and cultural literature involving the history of European contact with Papua New Guinea and anthropological discussions. It was difficult to categorize these since many sources had bases in several disciplines, i.e., Margaret Mead's work could be placed under an historical and cultural heading, under an anthropological one, or under an educational one, since she discussed the development of the mental process of young children.

Social-psychological literature discussed the concepts of the development of the self, the process of socialization, and the ideas of stress arising from discontinuities involved in cross-cultural conflicts.

Developmental literature discussed economic development, planning for development, including manpower-type planning, and more current ideas of balanced development.

Educational literature involved discussions of the educational process as a basic factor in the perpetuation of a culture, various learning theories, and education for development. There were also articles and documents relating to the educational system of Papua New Guinea itself.

Participant Observation: No specific method of observation was followed rigidly. The author lived with her family in a small two-room house on the Evangelical Mission Station. Living was perhaps the essential ingredient in the participant observation process; however, it was living and experiencing with a questioning mind and an observational frame of reference.

Located on the mission station, and surrounded with both European and native housing, the author was socialized partially into two worlds, totally into neither. The first was the European world: our main meal was eaten with a missionary family each day; the children were driven to a Territory A school[16] with the director's child; church and school meetings were attended, and the author and her husband participated in the limited social life of the station and town. However, as they became more fluent in the Pidgin English language (Neo-Melanesian) and became more comfortable to explore on their own, it was possible to become partially socialized into the Indigenous world as well. Many hours were spent visiting Indigenous people, either in the author's home or theirs, collecting legends, playing with and observing their children, observing local ceremonies including birth and death. They participated in excursions up the river in canoes on wash day and in the "beating" of sago, the preparation of their local food staple.

The author's position was one of "middle-man" -- not a real part of the mission structure, yet involved -- not a real part of the Indigenous group, yet involved. This unique position had both negative and positive aspects. Both groups were able to label the author as a "learner" or "observer" and that placed the Indigene in a position of teacher. This was an especially beneficial relationship as usually the Indigene is in the position of learner and the European as teacher. Yet a European, no matter how willing to be a learner, still occupies a privileged position in Papua New Guinea; therefore, the role of participant was usually from the position of "guest", rather than true participant.

One can only begin to enter into another's world -- to feel the rhythm of life and death, the routine of the familiar, regular chores of living, the interaction patterns between people. From the special vantage point between the world of the European and the world of the Indigene, it was possible to observe both while being sensitive to each side's perspective. (This is not to say that one side or the other was not identified with in particular situations, but that public impartiality was observed.)

This sensing and feeling aspect of investigation is essential to an investigator's total understanding of the processes he observes -- an "awareness" which cannot be captured through more rigorous scientific methods. Bruyn, in his book, labels this aspect of participant observation as the "synthetic process."

> To the participant observer, the synthetic process is in part intuitive and involves grasping the essence of personal meanings which inhere in the cultural context being studied. In describing events, the researcher engages in a kind of intuitive reconnaissance of the character and spirit of the people engaged in those events. This process is different from a logical analysis of observable data in the following ways;
>
> First, the participant observer seeks to identify with the people he is observing without analyzing them. Analysis,

> he believes, at certain stages may prove to be a barrier to his understanding. The researcher seeks a certain kind of communion with what he observes; therefore, any efforts to comment analytically about a situation prevent this communion.
>
> Second, since the participant observer is interested in knowing intimately the essence of that way of life which he is studying, he normally tends to interpret his data synthetically rather than analytically. That is, he seeks the central symbols around which a culture is organized ... which... explain the foundation upon which people have built their lives.[17]

It is difficult to separate the synthetic observational[18] part from the more analytical aspect of participant observation. At times, perhaps, both methods are being used simultaneously; at other times, one may reflect later upon certain happenings, analyzing and categorizing them. In contrast to the synthetic data, Bruyn says that

> ...analyzed data are taken apart intellectually -- i.e., events, beliefs, and patterns of conduct are separated in order to see new relationships among them. The researcher then puts these parts together in a new way, inventing categories to contain them or relating them to some theoretical viewpoint.[19]

Analytical observation would include more rigorous attempts to "sort out" the situation; it can be seen as a more aggressive aspect of investigation, but as overlapping the synthetical aspect.

The total eight month period in the Manus District, from December of 1970 to July of 1971, was spent in actively familiarizing the author with the mission educational system and how it related to the overall government educational system of Papua New Guinea. During this time, many hours were spent in researching written works about Papua New Guinea, visiting the Indigenous teachers, and informants, as well as the Europeans involved in the mission station, the government administration and the educational system. In order to gain insights into the actual problems of the classroom, the author arranged to teach part-time in the main Mission school at Lugos. During this time, lesson plans, reaction notes, stories and pictures of the children were kept.

This was a time of actively attempting to ascertain the world of the Indigenous teacher. Wiseman outlines this process clearly. He says that in the process of a researcher ascertaining the perspective of another's world, he must do what any social actor does when contacting a new environment:

> 1. He observes everyday action and attempts to reconstruct the definition of the situation on which "natives" appear to base their activities.
> 2. He asks questions of "the natives" to find out "what is going on" and what sort of action is expected to ensue as a result.
> 3. He finds special informants. These are people who, by virtue of some official capacity in the world under study, or because of some marginal status that makes them unusually sensitive to everyday expectations, can give the researcher a great deal of insight (the real "low down") about some society.
> 4. He tests both the answers received to direct questions and the interpretation he makes of the action observed to see if, in the context they were made, the perspective he is developing "works". That is, he sees if his analysis would enable a person to participate intelligently in the setting and to reasonably understand and predict the reactions of others.[20]

This description of procedure is also loosely applicable to the present investigation, but it was repeated several times over. The inter-relatedness of the steps makes demarkation between them difficult. The interview schedule was used as part of the process of utilizing special informants, but in a more systematic manner than is usual with mere observation. However, before an interview schedule could be compiled, the processes above had to be followed in order to select relevant questions.

The Formulation and Administration of An Interview Schedule: Keeping Malinowski's criticisms in mind, the interview schedule for this study was envisioned by the author as only one of several efficient tools for collecting and organizing data about the Indigenous teacher, together with his feelings, opinions, and attitudes. The schedule was not an end in itself; it was only one of three basic approaches to understanding. Because the interview schedule was used basically as a means to gain knowledge about the Indigenous teacher, it was an exploratory device. It was an attempt to understand the teacher, his training, his current educational problems and interests and how he felt about what had happened to him in the educational process. It is acknowledged that this technique is cumbersome, lengthy, and awkward. However, learning does not happen within neat, tidy packages. To limit one's sphere of investigation too severely also tends to limit what one may discover. As it is the non-obvious, subtle aspects of education and learning which largely determine the educational process, the author chose the more difficult, but hopefully more fruitful, method of investigation.

In order to formulate a schedule which was "tailor-made" for the Manus District, four phases were involved: Exploratory Interviews, Formulation of the Interview Schedule, Administration of the Schedule, and the Tabulation of the Results. Each phase will be discussed separately; however each phase is not a separate entity, but an overlapping of phases. This method parallels the process which takes place as one's conceptual horizons are expanded; conceptual frameworks become altered as new learning takes place or old ideas are challenged.

Exploratory Interviews - After arrival in January of 1971, it was possible for the author to draw up and administer a general interview schedule to six Indigenous mission teachers and teacher trainees who were participating in a local youth conference at the mission station. While factual information was important, particular emphasis was always given to a teacher's personal feelings about the questions: What were his perceptions? How did he feel about them? Were there any important questions or problems concerning his teaching experiences which had been left out of the discussion?

The initial schedule was divided into five general categories:

1. General background of the teacher
2. General educational background
3. Teacher training experience
4. School teaching experience
5. General questions concerning school curricula, discipline and

their perceptions concerning the future of Papua New Guinea. Administered in a relaxed setting over lemonade and cookies, it was an effective exploratory device for several reasons:

1. It established the identity of the author as one who was interested in studying the mission educational system, but who was not a part of it. The teachers were reassured that they were in no way being judged. On the contrary, the author would be learning from their experiences and ideas. They were also told that no specific personal information would be given to the mission organization, but that a summary would be submitted to the directors at a later time.

2. The interview situation attempted to eliminate, for a time, status and racial differences. In a situation where deference is always given to Europeans, the interview attempted to establish the feeling of "temporary" equality and feelings of professional importance and competence.

3. By using an interview schedule, rather than a more informal conversational style, it was felt that one could more quickly arrive at meaningful and relevant levels of discussion since the conversation would be guided by the schedule rather than by social requirements.

4. It familiarized the author with the local educational scene, focusing in on its specific successes and problems. The schedule,

while beginning with general questions, became flexible as the interviews progressed. As new information was learned, questions were added, changed or dropped. In this way, specific items unique to Papua New Guinea and/or to the Manus District were incorporated.

5. It was an organizational tool for the author's conceptual framework. To plan research without allowing time for the researcher to sort out phenomena and to build tentative conceptual frameworks appropriate to a totally new environment would build error into the basic tool for investigation. A true picture cannot be gained from faulty or inaccurate information or unfounded assumptions. These interviews facilitated the general familiarization process, and the author began to sort out faces and names, villages, schools -- all essential to broad understanding of one's environment. As such, this process complemented the participant observation phase, or was itself an extension of it.

6. Several interesting items of information emerged during the exploratory interviewing which needed further clarification or which seemed important to probe more deeply in the final interview schedule.[21] It was soon obvious that many of these Indigenous teachers, while being poorly educated according to our Western norms, were multi-lingual. At least two of these languages had been learned prior to entering first grade. Basic to all the

teachers were at least three languages: their native tongue (Ples Tok), Pidgin English (Neo Melanesian) and English, which is the language of instruction in the school. It seemed a worthy area of investigation: In how many languages were the Manus teachers literate and how does this compare to the linguistic accomplishments of their parents?

Another item which needed clarification was that the Manus concept of family is not identical to our Western concept. Multiple wives, informal adoptions and sharing of child raising responsibilities made the words for family, father, mother, brother, sister or cousin very ambiguous. Considerable time was spent in seeking a word which would mean "immediate family". For example, in Pidgin English the word "brata" (brother) is their word for a sibling of the same sex; the word "susa" (sister) means a sibling of the opposite sex. Either word could refer to a blood brother or sister, a step brother or sister or cousin -- depending on how close the two relatives felt toward one another. The word "line" was finally selected as a general word which would connote brothers and sisters, as well as cousins, from both the fathers' and mothers' sides. The words, "clan" and "haus boi" were considered, but were defined by the Indigenous people as being patrilinial only.

Formulation of the Interview Schedule – In spite of these types of difficulties, it was apparent that factual information could easily be collected -- names, dates, yes or no answers. However, as Malinowski claimed, this type of information makes flat, artificial and one-dimensional reporting. The reality of the life and emotions of these very vibrant people remained hazy. Emotional and perceptual aspects are essential in the creation of one's reality, and research which lacks this more subjective aspect is incomplete. Therefore, the final interview schedule was basically an expanded version of the exploratory one, but with much more emphasis on attitudes, feelings, perceptions.

It was designed to elicit two types of responses: factual and perceptual. For example, factual information was sought concerning each separate level of schooling in the teacher's own educational process as well as information on his feelings and perceptions about these experiences. The total interview schedule included seven sections: (See Appendix I for a more detailed outline of the interview schedule.)

I. Background Information -- demographic, social

II. A. Educational History: Standards 1 through 6

B. Attitudes Towards Standards 1 through 6

These questions involved a range of queries from which subjects they liked and disliked and why to what kinds of things made them happy or sad while attending these standards. It was felt that if they could think back and identify their own emotional reactions, they could better evaluate the kinds of successes and failures they personally were experiencing as teachers. It could also help them identify with their students.

III. A. Educational History: Post Primary

B. Attitudes Toward Post Primary Education.

Special attention was given to how their friends felt who were not selected to go on to higher education. If the teacher had gone straight to teacher training from Standard 6, these same types of attitude questions were asked concerning teacher training.

IV. A. Additional Training, Including Teacher Training or Correspondence Courses.

B. Attitudes Toward Teaching.

This involved the reasons for becoming a teacher and how the decision-making process had occurred. There were general questions about the specific teaching position which they currently held and comparisons between mission and government teaching jobs.

V. A. Career in Teaching

Questions involved the yearly account of the position they held, salary, number of students, proportion of Indigenous and white teachers, etc.

B. Specific Problems in the Classroom

This section involved questions about specific areas of teaching and learning difficulties. Is there a relationship between feelings of enjoyment of a subject or of a teacher and feelings of competence in it? The role of English versus Pidgin English as the medium of instruction was considered also.

VI. General Attitudes Toward Being Educated

This section was a summation of general feelings about education -- the total experience. How did they feel about being educated? Were they different now than before? Were they treated differently by their family or the villagers after being educated? Included in this section were questions on the future of Papua New Guinea and the role of education in that future.

VII. Attitudes and Beliefs About Traditional Culture

From the readings and from extensive conversations and observations of Indigenous people, sixteen short stories or episodes were devised by the author and her husband. These incidents involved some form of native belief, ritual, or practice thought to be compatible with native, village life, but incompatible with Western, scientific, or Christian thinking and teaching. A comparison group was sought in high school and university. As such, this last section will not be dealt with in this thesis, but is being analyzed separately.

Pre-Testing-- The first draft of the total interview schedule was typed and administered to a former school teacher. Final word and organizational changes were made, ditto masters typed and run off at the Manus High School. The local headmaster, Mr. Cameron, was very helpful, as well as the Department of Education, in providing use of supplies and equipment for the study.

Administering the Interview Schedule: Evangelical Mission Teachers - The Evangelical Mission employed twenty-three Indigenous teachers in the Manus District. There are three main mission stations, one of which has classes from Standards 1 through 6 (Lugos); the other two have classes only through Standard 4 (Lessau and Loniu). Children going beyond Standard 4 must come to the Lugos Station Boarding School for Standards 5 and 6. In addition to this, there are seven other village-level schools, often in remote mountain areas of the main island or located on smaller islands nearby. Because of the remoteness of some of the villages, no firm interviewing time schedule could be made, but as an opportunity arose, whether it was a boat going to an island, a visit to the mainland by a teacher, or a chance for a trek into the bush school, interviews were arranged. The teachers were informed in many ways about the interviews. While there was some confusion about the times of the interviews or the specific day (since time is relatively unimportant on Manus), there was total cooperation in these interviewing situations. In fact, the teachers seemed very happy to have an opportunity to express their views and feelings and to be treated as "professionals".

The interviews varied in length of time from two and one-half hours to eight hours, the longer ones being broken into several time periods. The variance in the length usually depended on how much the teacher was willing to say. There seemed to be a direct relationship between the author's ability to establish a warmth and openness in the interviewing situation and the offering of additional information by the teachers. When teachers felt that either they or the author were under time pressure, answers were clipped and not as informative as far as offering unsolicited and spontaneous information.

Each time, the teacher was reassured again as to what the author was doing, how the responses would be reported, etc. However, this was never seen as a problem; most teachers said they did not care who saw their answers.

From April 1 through July 17, 1971, twenty-three personal interviews were conducted. The only incomplete schedule was a teacher from an island who gave such complete and detailed answers that there was not sufficient time to finish the interview. Because of personal circumstances later, he was unable to return to complete it as he had agreed; however, this was not an indication of unhappiness with the interview.

Self-Administered Schedules: Administration and Catholic Teachers - On May 13, the author learned of a head teacher's workshop which was being held during that month by the Administration Education Department in Lorengau, the administrative center for the Manus District. Permission was sought and granted from Jack Hilliard, curriculum advisor, to conduct a workshop session in which the teachers would be asked to fill out the interview schedule in the author's presence. Because of its length, it was impossible to personally interview each teacher.

On May 18, 1971, there was a four-hour session from 8:00 in the morning until 12:00 noon, with a short coffee break at 10:00. The author was introduced by Mr. Hilliard as someone interested in the Manus educational system and the problems of the teachers. The author spoke for a short time, giving a personal resume, an outline of her interests concerning the uniqueness of the Papua New Guinea educational system, and solicited their cooperation. All were given a choice as to whether or not they would like to participate, and all agreed to cooperate. Altogether, fourteen men participated, eight teaching for the Administration and six for the Catholic Mission.

An attempt was made to provide a warm, accepting, non-threatening atmosphere. After about a half-hour of rapport-establishment, each page was reviewed with the group, while individuals filled in their answers and comments. It was emphasized over and over that they should feel free to ask questions, and the author roamed the room sitting with individuals as they needed aid or clarification. According to the diary entry for that day, "They relaxed, laughed, smoked, frowned, complained -- but did it. The charts were especially difficult, but they were patient. They have fantastic memories for dates, facts and figures".

As many teachers were not going to be finished by 12:00, several men requested that they be allowed to keep the questionnaires overnight and finish them in their leisure time. This was done, and the schedules were collected the next morning, the results roughly tabulated that day, and returned in order that they could be used for discussion purposes in the workshop. In this manner, the author attempted to indicate her belief that communication is a reciprocal process. It was a small indication that what the Indigenous teacher had to say as an individual and as a professional was valid and important. It was stressed that by their own efforts in participating, they also clarified local issues and provided areas of discussion for their workshop. A home-baked nut bread was returned with the summary -- another way of expressing appreciation for their cooperation. There were many indications that they enjoyed this aspect of the project with their coffee break that day.

On June 28, another session, conducted in the same manner, yielded ten questionnaires. These included three administration teachers and seven Catholic Mission teachers. Two others also participated -- the local educational inspector and a teacher from the Seventh Day Adventist Mission. These were not used in the final tabulations since the author was interested in comparing total response patterns of the teachers from the different teaching agencies. One representative from another diverse group would not be a valid indicator for comparison.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The major limitation of the study is that it presents the basic dilemma of any research which attempts to examine an unfamiliar environment from the perspective of the actor's involved. A true perspective of the Indigenous teachers must come from themselves, and the author's reporting of their views can only be second-hand information. The author's viewpoint is circumscribed by many factors: emotional and intellectual subjectivity, teaching and field experience, length of exposure in the field, and the limitation of working in another culture and through a language that is a second language to the respondents. On the other hand, an Indigenous point of view, while more direct, would also have limiting factors to its vision.

It was for these reasons that the interview schedule was designed on the field, without prior formulation, as it was felt that it must be an outgrowth of actual experiences and information gained from being directly involved in field work. S. Sieber, in his article "The Integration of Field Work and Survey Methods", discusses the strength of combining field work with survey techniques in this manner.[22] In addition to these two methods, a third one was employed -- that of using selected reference materials in determining the need for educational alternatives and in discovering what these could be. This loosely knit combination of methods was difficult to consistently or methodically integrate according to some pre-designed plan. Instead, the combination of the three became a total learning experience for the author, a heightening of awareness and of knowledge concerning basic issues involved, but it was not a process that was methodologically rigorous. As previously stated, the concepts involved in the thesis were intended as sensitizing ones and must be seen as such. However, many areas of concern have evolved from this type of experience and research which could be studied in a more rigidly scientific manner when further research is required.

Another major limiting factor is the underlying assumption of the entire study: that participation in decision-making on the part of individuals and nations is vital to the democratic process and to development which is equitable (human or economic). This basic assumption circumscribes one's total perspective and gives focus to the investigation. This subjectivity becomes a basic factor, then, in the selection or rejection of certain points of view or types of reading and experiences which one chooses for use in the thesis. In addition, analysis was made of the data in terms of Indigenous participation in decision-making. Another researcher who did not accept this basic premise would take exception to the conclusions drawn from this research.

Since the study was based on several types of data, it is therefore limited by the adequacy of these sources and the author's interpretation of them. Reference data was gathered from books, documents, letters, and some personal discussions with knowledgeable people on the scene. The accuracy of these data, in general, must be assumed, although inevitably these may be incomplete, inconclusive or written from a specific point of view. An example of one's reliance on the validity of source data is the use of Margaret Mead's analysis of the Peri experience in the Manus District to hypothesize concerning the concept of "latent deviance" and its role in social change. It is also true that in attempting to deal with such a wide variety of sources, the author could have misrepresented, misunderstood, or over-simplified some of the source material. For one person with limited experience to attempt to integrate data from a variety of sources is extremely difficult. Ideally, an interdisciplinary team of people with complementary skills and knowledge would have been more capable for this task.

The major source of data was a total sample of Indigenous teachers from the Evangelical Mission Agency in the Manus District. The fear that this small group was unique and non-typical of other Indigenous teachers was partially allayed by the similarity of responses from teachers in the comparison group. However, the comparison group was comprised of teachers who were not representative of their agencies for several reasons. Originally, the study was to be limited to the mission teachers only, and an interview schedule was designed specifically for them and for use in a personal interview, with the author recording the responses. When it became apparent that other teachers would be able to participate in the study, time was a limiting factor. The schedule could not be re-designed for self-administration, and the teachers would only be available for a short period of time. Therefore, individual interviews were impossible. Consequently, group sessions were held in which the teachers filled in the schedule with the author giving assistance.

Some questions were not self-explanatory and some were extremely difficult for them to complete, such as complicated charts. Because of this and because the teachers were working in English, rather than in Pidgin English, they were forced to concentrate more on the technicalities of language and grammar, rather than on the content of the answer itself. While everything possible was done to facilitate the responses and to ensure understanding of the questions, undoubtedly some misunderstanding of the questions took place -- or misunderstanding by the author of the answers intended. Many of these difficulties would have been cleared up if there had been time to personally administer the schedule.

This group was comprised of head teachers from the Catholic and Administration agencies; male, slightly older and above average in experience and in training than other teachers in their own schools or the teacher in the Evangelical Mission Agency. Some questions would undoubtedly be answered differently by a different sample of respondents from these same agencies: i.e., questions which revealed the idealism and willingness to accept perceived injustices of the younger Evangelical Mission teachers versus the realistic, more critical, responses of the respondents from the other two agencies. Differences in age and in experience between the comparison group and the Evangelical Mission teachers could be a causal factor in some of the attitudinal differences between the two groups.

In both the comparison group and in the Evangelical Mission group, some interviews were more informative than others and varied considerably in completion time. There were a few teachers whose comprehension and understanding was less than those teachers who had more education or longer European contact. As there is a tendency for Indigenous people to be amenable to Europeans and to not communicate their dissatisfactions, it can be questioned whether the teachers were entirely candid and honest with the author during the interview. However, the diversity and depth of information gained, in addition to considerable unanimity of responses, would indicate that the teaching difficulties and dissatisfactions mentioned were real, fairly wide-spread, and certainly not unique to the Evangelical Mission group.

The third source of data collection was the field work situation itself. This field work has been defined as living in the environment and being aware of the interaction taking place. To test oneself for accuracy is difficult, and to place more significance on one's own perceptions than the conflicting perceptions of others is awkward. One can only say that there were many confirming incidences that gave some indication of perceptual accuracy. The personal interviews yielded much rich material, once rapport had been established, and confirmed many of the author's field work observations. In addition, the data acquired from reference sources confirmed the existence of parallel educational problems in other emerging nations. While generalizations to other Indigenous teachers in Papua New Guinea can be suggested, for actual confirmation, one would have to repeat this type of research with a carefully selected control group, one that was representative of all teachers in its agency.

2

FOOTNOTES

[1] Margaret Mead, Growing Up in New Guinea (New York: A Mentor Book, 1960 reprint).

[2] Margaret Mead, New Lives for Old: Cultural Transformation, Manus, 1928-1953 (New York: A Mentor Book, 1956).

[3] L. Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1957). L. Festinger and J.M. Carlsmith, "Cognitive Consequences of Forced Compliance," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 58 (1959), pp.203-10. H.C. Kelman, "Process of Opinion Change," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1961, 25, pp. 57-78. D. Katz and E. Stotland, "A Preliminary Statement To a Theory of Attitude Structure and Change," S. Koch, editor, Psychology: A Study of a Science, V. 3, Formulations of the Person and the Social Context, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959), pp. 432-475. Carl Rogers, Client-Centered Therapy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951).

[4] Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture (New York: Mentor Books, 1959). Peter Berger, Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective (Garden City: New York: Anchor Books, 1963). George Mead, Mind, Self and Society (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934).

[5] Functionality is used throughout this thesis to indicate a means-end relationship and is not intended to infer the more rigid sociological definition of the term. Functional, therefore, will be used to mean "the most effective means to gain certain ends". Disfunctional, therefore, could connote a disruption in the means-end relationship, whether merely not efficient or actually not achieving the ends desired.

[6] Herbert Blumer, "What is Wrong With Social Theory?" American Sociological Review, V. 19 (February, 1954), p. 7.

[7] Severyn Bruyn, The Human Perspective in Sociology: The Methodology of Participant Observation (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 32.

[8] Morton Deutsch and Robert Krauss, Theories in Social Psychology (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1965), p. 6.

[9] William W. Biddle and Loureide J. Biddle, The Community Development Process (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p. 78.

[10] M.G. Ross, *Community Organization* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p.14.

[11] J.R. Albert, "Community Development in Alberta," *Human Resources Development Authority*, (Edmonton, 1970), p. 5.

[12] Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (New York: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1959), pp. 126-127.

[13] Becker and Geer, "Participant Observation: The Analysis of Qualitative Field Data," Adams and Preiss, editors, in *Human Organization Research* (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, Inc., 1960), p. 280.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

[15] Jacqueline Wiseman, *Stations of the Lost: The Treatment of Skid Row Alcoholics* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 271-272.

[16] Territory A school means one basically for English speaking children and based on a curriculum in Australia.

[17] Bruyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36. "Synthetic description may oversimplify or overemphasize a few key elements which minimize variability within cultures. On the other hand, analysis fails to see the whole for the parts, fails to see the larger meaning or significance of data. Together these polar modes of description complement one another and provide a broad, firm basis for approaching the study of man."

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[20] Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[21] It would be impossible to include all the difficulties encountered in the formulation of the interview schedule. For brevity, two typical examples have been included.

[22] Sam Sieber, "The Integration of Field Work and Survey Methods," *American Journal of Sociology*, V. 78, No. 6 (May, 1973), pp. 1335-1359.

CHAPTER III

THE PRESENT EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

EVOLUTION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT OF COLONIAL INDIGENOUS POLICIES

A close examination of the historical development of the educational system of Papua New Guinea parallels the historical development of the policies of Indigenous welfare which were adopted by the governments involved; they are inseparable. In this historical examination also lies the development of man's beliefs concerning the relationship between a "civilized" nation and an "uncivilized" one -- and the relationships between the peoples of those countries. It matters little whether a colonial nation views itself as a "conqueror", a "protector", or a "benefactor". All are shades of the same meaning which implies a superior-inferior relationship; all these terms hold within them the attitudes which determine the practices in that relationship. Some are perhaps not as harsh as others.

The rise of nationalism has forced some countries and some men to re-analyze the uneasy relationship between attitudes and policy. The category just beginning to be explored is that of "equal participator" in planning. From the perspective of 1973, it is comparatively easy to survey the past from a "superior" vantage point and find fault; from the perspective of the 1880's and early 1900's, it might have been more difficult. One's ideals are shaped by the current opinions of his day. In each period, however, there were a few men who strove for fairness and justice in their own way and within the context of their own day. What is relevant here is not to judge these men, but to examine how the beliefs and attitudes of those in power affected the lives of those under their control. The perspective of the Indigenous people has yet to be written, but it is certain to come in the near future and will be the decisive factor in the direction of future developmental policy. Meanwhile, it is possible to examine the attitudes which shaped policy from the earliest contact to the present time.

Papuan Indigenous Policy to 1942

Sir William MacGregor, the first administrator of Papua, envisioned a humane Indigenous policy that was based on protection of the Indigene against the encroachment and exploitation of the European.

> Surveying the world of 1888, he is said to have declared that he took up his task in the belief that this was one remaining place where it would be possible to civilize a native people without destroying it. During his ten years in office, he laid down the main lines of the system of native administration, land and labour policy, as they remained until Japanese invasion.[1]

The British gave Papua to Australia as a Protectorate in 1901. Australia's interest in Papua was one of resource exploitation, as well as a policy of self-support based on settler economy. The implementation of Papuan policy, however, is basically linked with Hubert Murray, who was Lieutenant Governor of Papua from 1907 to 1940.

"Murray's long reign -- as it has often been called -- and his strongly marked personality made him a world figure."[2] His thirty-three year term of office was divided by two approaches to development: rapid economic advance and concern for Indigenous welfare. Prior to World War I, Murray's chief interest in administering the Territory was economic growth, in agreement with the colonialist interests of Australia. Murray felt that rapid development of pacified areas by Australian planters would benefit Australians economically; exposure to the "civilizing influences" of plantation labour would also benefit Papuans.

> He believed that the employment of Papuans by Europeans would reduce apathy, mitigate barbarism, and give Papuans a push up the evolutionary scale of human cultures. He was sceptical about how far up this scale they could go, for he believed Papuans to be innately primitive and, on average, deficient in the "natural gifts" possessed by Europeans.[3]

Dual Policies for Development: Plans for rapid economic development gave him dual objectives: to pacify the Indigenous people as quickly as possible in order to locate new sources of labour and to be as humane as possible to the Papuans in the process. As far as was possible, he respected traditional Papuan rights, recognized Indigenous land ownership and laws, and attempted to use local men from the villages as mediators between government and villagers. Lucy Mair says that he was devoted to the Indigenous population, but that

> ...His attitude to the natives was paternal -- a half-humorous tolerance, mingled with deep distress at backslidings among those who he hoped had abandoned

> their savage ways. He was convinced that they must be coerced for their own good... In the colonial world as it was before World War I and particularly in the context of the Pacific, Papua was in many ways an example of enlightened rule...[4]

While he believed firmly that extension of authority should be by persuasion rather than by compulsion, he was overly optimistic concerning the Indigenous people's desire to cooperate with plans for their own development and enlightenment. Under a system of appointed village constables, control, in the form of a simplified criminal code, was extended to literally every aspect of Indigenous life: village and personal hygiene, education, cultivation of cash crops, and medical treatment. The first Native Regulation Act applied to theft and adultery, and was seen as a means of effecting desirable change. This was soon extended further.[5]

> ...Should improvements in village sanitation or an extension of cultivation be sought, a regulation was introduced imposing the requisite obligation on every native. Hence the patrol officer had the right to dictate on a wide range of subjects. Natives could be penalized for burying their dead in villages or under houses. A village could be ordered to move from an unhealthy locality. Grass had to be cleared around the villages to a distance of fifty yards from the nearest house. The owner of a house could be ordered to repair or rebuild it or, if it was overcrowded, to increase its size or build an additional one. The destruction of abandoned houses, or houses incapable of repair, could be ordered. A standard type of house might be prescribed for the village. A village might be ordered to dig wells, and the village constable was responsible for protecting springs and wells from contamination. He also organized the maintenance of roads and bridges on village land. There was a penalty for failure to use latrines where they existed. Orders might be given for water to be removed from canoes or other possible breeding grounds for mosquitoes, or for diseased dogs or pigs to be killed. Innoculation against infectious diseases might be made compulsory by Order in Council. Village constables could order parents to bring a child for

> medical examination. Natives could be ordered to submit to examination for venerial diseases, and penalized for failure to notify them or for having sexual relations while suffering from such a disease.
>
> There was a penalty for cutting down trees near the sea (a measure of protection against coastal erosion) and for obstructing the flow of streams. Orders could be given for the destruction of noxious weeds, of diseased coconut trees and of certain insect pests; and for the removal of inflammable material from the neighbourhood of houses or other property. Where there was a school approved by the authorities, teaching English, and not charging fees, within a distance of one mile, children between the ages of five and fourteen had to go to it at least three days a week. Able-bodied men could be ordered to plant a given area or number of coconuts or other useful trees. It was an offence without special permission to wear clothes on the upper part of the body (a measure intended to prevent the spread of disease among people who supposedly did not understand the need to wash clothes), and the destruction of filthy clothing or bedding might be ordered. A man who had abandoned his wife could be required to support her and his children. Boats owned by natives were subject to annual inspection, and orders might be given for their repair. If the boat was owned collectively, a master and crew would be nominated from among the owners.[5]

Prison sentences or fines were meted out to those who violated the regulations -- according to the whim of the patrol officer or the village constable. The basis of the system was simple: Indigenes were uncivilized; they should do as they were told; what they were told was "good for them", and the Europeans, being civilized, were the final judges in such matters. Education was to happen by decree, not by patient teaching of the underlying concepts. The village constable was caught between the two worlds, and usually he did not have the village stature to enforce the regulations nor the education to understand the reasons behind them. The system was unpredictable, probably more difficult to live under than a policy of rigid enforcement.

Murray began to see that the coming of European contact had introduced strains and tensions into villages with which they were unable to cope. The government programs and European prejudices were undermining village authority and customs -- a change not surprising, but not entirely anticipated. In addition, World War I destroyed Murray's hope of revenue from Australia as the basis for his administration and for Indigenous welfare. He concluded that funds must come from the Indigenes themselves. Another regulation was passed which forced all villages to plant coconuts on a larger scale than previously in order to compete for the world copra market. In addition, a head tax was imposed on every able-bodied man, which forced him into either wage labour for the European or into the production of cash crops.

Revenue from this tax became the Native Welfare Fund, used to subsidize mission health and educational services and other projects pertaining to the welfare of the Indigenes. This included the administration's new anthropologist. Murray became convinced that "old methods of compulsion would be inadequate to secure Papuan cooperation in economic development and that persuasion and consultation would be more appropriate."[6]

He attempted to establish village councils for consultation and closer cooperation with the government, a policy already pioneered by several Papuan mission societies. However, he would not give these councils any statutory position or powers since he still felt that "real responsibility could not be delegated to Papuans until they had learned to exercise it in accordance with Australian values and standards."[7]

While these councils were feeble attempts at localization, Murray's own beliefs concerning the nature of the Indigenous people kept him from implementing them to the degree necessary for effective learning and participation. Indigenous involvement in their own affairs remained contingent on the "good will" of a few, less ethnocentric, Europeans. There was no legal recourse for the Indigene.

Education Under Murray: Murray's liberal-conservative ambivalence characterized his educational policies.

> The Native Education Fund provided money for three main educational purposes: for establishment grants to "assisted schools" and per capita subsidies for passes gained in government syllabus examinations, for the promotion of technical education and for general educational needs.[8]

The practical outcome of this was that the missions provided the majority of education; additional money was given to the mission for every student who passed the Australian-based examination. Additional funds were given for the teaching of English, though there was little relevant literature to read at that level. The majority of funding, however, went for the provision of technical training, in keeping with the need for workers in European-based economy. No emphasis or money was given to training local teachers, although schools were understaffed, nor was education provided beyond Standard 5, even though the curriculum materials and money was available. Murray believed that the next generation was soon enough for higher education -- maybe too soon.[9]

However, in 1927, a missionary designed a reader for Papuan children, which was later revised, simplified, and used until 1945. The government anthropologist published a paper, The Papuan Villager, from 1929 to 1941. These are two examples of small attempts to make education a bit relevant.

Summary: Murray's own attitudes were not the only limiting factors in his educational policies. Australia would not supply adequate funding for Indigenous welfare, making the Native Taxation a necessity. The European community was not convinced that Papuans would make good employees. Although some yielded to persuasion, racial prejudice continued to dominate policy.

> More subtly Murray was influenced by the paternalism of the well-disposed. The pervading concept of Pacific people as "child-races" affected some scholars, many missionaries and, one suspects, most of those others who did not hold harsher views.[10]

In general, it can be seen that the views held in the dominant society concerning the innate abilities and intelligence of people under their control determined the guidelines for policy formation. The essence of the conflict seems to lie in the dilemma between fast economic development and concern for Indigenous welfare; they are not compatible. This is especially true when the Indigenous population is seen as the basic ingredient in production, a cheap source of labour. Many Europeans of that day fought education for Indigenous peoples since it would "unfit" them for plantation labour.

New Guinea Indigenous Policy to 1942

German New Guinea to 1914: When Germany acquired New Guinea in 1884, it had little previous experience as a colonial government and was unwilling to invest in the new colony. The settlement and rule of New Guinea was assumed by the New Guinea Company who envisioned world-wide trading in tobacco, coffee, and cocoa. Again the people were to be utilized as a source of labour. Many difficulties plagued the company, and, in 1895, responsibility for administration was turned back to the German government; a German administrator was appointed in charge of the Territory.

From then until 1914, when Australian troops arrived, the Germans made slow, but consistent, progress toward bringing some order to the new colony and laying plans for its development. Dr. Albert Hahl, acting Governor, extended the area of control, using peaceful means when possible, but he declared that "force would have to be met by force."[11] He established a system of "luluais", Indigenous men appointed by their villages to represent them with the government, and used a head tax to provide additional funding. This was in contrast to Murray who appointed the head men, rather than allowing the villagers to select them.

There were several resemblances between the two colonies in 1941.

> ...Both governments professed benevolent intentions, holding themselves to be responsible for the protection and "civilization" of the indigenous people; both relied on indigenous officials in their contact at the village level. The German system was less cautious than that of Murray, less dedicated to conservatism, for Hahl believed that adaptation in village life was a necessary concomitant of colonial rule, to be encouraged rather than deplored. German rule was often harsher and more self-interested than its counter part in Papua at the time. On the other hand, Hahl looked more hopefully to the possibilities of development in indigenous society and to the positive role of the administration in promoting change.[12]

The subtle difference in outlook concerning the Indigenes' abilities can be seen as the decisive factor in determining the plans laid for development of the colony and of the people. Murray believed in the innate inferiority of the Indigenous people and followed a plan of protective benevolence. Little provision was made for their development beyond a meager education. Hahl believed in the possibility that the Indigenous people could be trained and educated to positions of responsibility, and his plans were laid accordingly. Many of his senior staff held university degrees; one-third of his entire staff were professional men who provided specialist services -- doctors, medical assistants, agricultural officers, a veterinary officer and various technical and engineering experts.[13]

One of his decisive successes was the training of medical assistants who were sent back to their villages to establish first-aid posts and to provide elementary medical assistance for the villagers. Education was used by the

Germans as a tool for the colony's development. Plans were laid by Hahl to extend government control over the mission education. These he had discussed with the missions, and, when he turned over his office to the Australians, he had complete plans for educational expansion in the immediate years ahead.

1. He planned to build a supply of skilled and semi-skilled workers so that it would be unnecessary to bring in outside tradesmen.
2. He wanted to make Indigenes more "German". He planned to introduce German gradually into the schools in order to "bring the natives round to understand Germans better and to look at affairs through German eyes". Missions were to be subsidized for teaching in German.
3. He felt that education was the responsibility of the government, and he attempted to establish government schools, while continuing to utilize the mission services.
4. He wanted to make education *suitable* to the Indigenes *from their standpoint* and mode of life.[14]

Hahl seemed to be developing a philosophy of Indigenous welfare similar to the current philosophy of community development. His emphasis on developing Indigenous communities was certainly new in the 1900's. His attempt to create Indigenous officials, health officers and Indigenous training programs was basically experimental and not tried in Papua. He was at least *thinking* of making education and the educational process relevant to the people "from their standpoint" -- even though that attempt was in order to bring them ultimately to the German point of view and to satisfy German colonial needs. The German government, for their own sake, wanted to make the interests and needs of the Indigenes their own. Hahl's development plans for the villages, though in part dictated by colonial self-interest, were also planned to benefit the Indigene at his own level.

Again, the gap between the visions of one man and their implementation was great. His views were not shared by many of his co-workers or his government; there was great pressure from commercial interests to subjugate Indigenous welfare to the needs of European planters. Harsh pacification measures were characteristic of the German regime, despite Hahl's avowed intentions.

It is difficult to predict the direction of the German administration in New Guinea if World War I had not ended the endeavor. The basic beliefs concerning the abilities of the Indigenous people which were held by Murray and Hahl were very different, yet the outcomes were remarkably similar. Each colonial government wanted to make the Indigenous people into images of themselves, but on a lesser scale. Racial prejudice was prevalent and prevented development on a humane level. Education was basically left to the missions. Villagers were kept in line through taxation, regulation and punishment, and were exploited as cheap sources of labour for colonial expansion.

New Guinea as an Australian Protectorate: From 1914 to 1921, the Territory was placed under a military war administration of Australia. The six different administrators during this time were concerned with Indigenous welfare only to the extent of widening the areas of control in order to maintain a labour force. Inexperienced men, given wide powers under the military administration, assumed that Indigenes could only work under harsh treatment -- the legacy of the German administration.[15] During this time, nothing was done to develop an educational policy nor to pursue plans laid down by Hahl. Rowley says the only evidence of direct interference in mission education was the stipulation that a child could not be taken from his home for educational purposes without consent of the parents![16]

In 1919, the League of Nations was established and it was agreed that German colonies could not be annexed by the victors since "government of peoples not yet able to stand by themselves was a sacred trust of civilized nations". Australia was to administer the Territory as a trustee, not as a colony.

In the early days of the Trusteeship, Australia passed an Education Ordinance which was an expression of her intentions concerning Territorial education. It authorized the administrator "to establish schools, to prescribe the nature and standard of instruction, to make provision for teachers and to control expenditure from the Native Education Trust Fund."[17] Details as to the basis of decision-making were not spelled out. The official curriculum of the few government schools was to be the Australian syllabus, and subjects were taught in English. Mission schools were not subsidized because the government planned to set up their own schools. The missions carried on as usual, curriculum was self-determined and mainly taught in

German since the missionaries were allowed to continue their mission work. Besides the Ordinance, little else is recorded for this period.

> ...the history of policy-making on education is a record of reports, conferences, references to committees and postponement of decisions. Prior to World War II, there was no major extension of the work begun in 1922, nor was any major alternative to it decided upon, nor was there even an officer appointed for anything for a very short period to deal exclusively with the problems of education.[18]

Education was described as the "most sterile of all the Australian Government's undertakings during the mandate".[19]

The Australian government regarded rapid economic development as the primary goal of its administration during this time. In this money-oriented atmosphere, "There was a definite hostility of Europeans towards the native being given any education at all... The exploiting class had a very real fear that intellectual training will make the native less amenable to labour."[20] This judgement was borne out in 1929, when, following an Indigenous employee strike in Rabaul, the government had planned to send a few outstanding students to Australia for higher education. The Europeans protested; the government agreed, and The Rabaul Times reported:

> We learn with pleasure that the seven natives who were to be sent to Australia did not go owing to the representations made by the Citizens' Association. This should go a long way towards satisfying those who expressed their indignation, and their number is legion.[21]

Summary of Native Developmental Policies Prior to World War II

Prior to 1941, little formalized developmental policies had evolved.

Development meant the encouragement of European enterprise and financial investment in the Territories. Settlers were encouraged to migrate to the Territories; large plantations were established and run by companies similar to Canada's own Hudson's Bay Company. The government policies almost exclusively dealt with satisfying European needs. Rowley cynically claims that Australia's concept of development was to assist "enterprise with tools and troops to round up the labourers".[22] He also believed that

> Native policies appear when governments attempt to protect the indigenes against the influence and demands of the settler community. But the native predicament may not be recognized at all, and the government may be largely preoccupied with the affairs of the dominant racial group. Such preoccupation (due as much to lack of imagination as lack of humanity) results in a limiting of policies and practices to those which satisfy exclusively European needs. The problem of native society then appears in simplified form, as one to be dealt with on principles of conservation more applicable to flocks and herds.[23]

In case this judgement should appear too harsh, one has only to examine the history of Papua New Guinea for confirmation.

> Neither the owners of the islands nor the world could afford to have the natives perish. Therefore they must advance. They must be broken in to recognize the white man's money as the only means of exchange... trained in sanitary conditions and cleanliness... compelled to supply the necessary labour to the plantations, or, as a remote alternative become industrious small plantation holders themselves.[24]

Health and educational programs were established, the language of whichever government was in control was taught, technical schools were established and laws passed to regulate labour conditions involving the Indigenes and the hiring practices of the European. Predominately in his role as a cheap labour force, a factor in production, did the Indigene assume a position of any importance.

It is interesting to note the kind of rationalization by which Europeans convinced themselves, and others, that their policies were for "the good of the native".

> War has a stimulating effect on the native; it sharpens his mental powers and develops him physically... If therefore, we forbid the natives to fight, we must give them some means of stimulus in exchange, that is to say, work. If all the population of the Archipelago were to be set to regular daily work, the large uncultivated areas, which exist everywhere, would soon disappear, and a strong healthy people would grow up. But the native will never work of his own accord, and it is the duty of the Government, of the missions, and of the settlers, to set the natives to work, and by gentle persuasion to make them useful members of society.[25]

The administration of such policies would only be initiated by force, and kept in practice by corporal punishment. Again, one sees the inter-dependence of beliefs concerning the inferiority of the Indigenes and the policies of control which developed.

> The natives of these islands are human beings of the very lowest standard of life in the whole world, and their education is therefore like nought. Even the natives... in continuous touch with white people for over thirty years, are not yet more than children, and they have to get a licking just as well as every naughty boy in civilised countries also gets from his parents or school masters. Confinement in a room will have no effect at all on the boys, as they lack all sense of honour in this regard. ...It is not sufficient for us that corporal punishment can be inflicted by a government official duly appointed in pursuance of a judge's order or the sentence of a court, because a disciplinary punishment must

> be inflicted at once when the labourer is found guilty, not months afterwards, and in the presence of other boys to be a warning to all. Besides, the employers would lose all their authority if the labourers know that they are no more entitled to flog a boy.[26]

Ironic, that the "civilizing influence" brought to these people by the Europeans included forced labour, corporal punishment, exclusion from participation in society, socially and economically, and the mass killings of two world wars.

Australian Administration of Both Territories from 1941 to the Present

Results of War: The disruption of villages and of individual people during World War II probably never can be truly measured. Seemingly out of nowhere came ships and airplanes carrying a wealth of economic goods never before seen nor imagined by the Indigene. They could not understand the source of these goods, that they had been produced through a long industrial process. They assumed that somehow the European had interrupted the delivery of "cargo" to them from their departed ancestors. Cargo cults developed, an attempt to find the "key" to unlock the secret source of the treasures. Many felt that western education was that key. They were anxious to cooperate with the European educational efforts, their attitudes conditioned by hopes of sharing in the obvious benefits. At the same time, many aspects of the cults were based in anti-European feelings -- perhaps the beginning of nationalism.

Margaret Mead believes that the war also brought to the Indigene an alternate way of being treated -- as brothers, not as inferiors.[27] The Americans, not planning to remain long in the Territory, became buddies with the people, not their masters. The sermons of the missionaries about brotherly love became epitomized by the wartime friendships.

The major effect of the war, however, was that Australia realized that Papua New Guinea was rather strategic to her military defence. It seems more than coincidental that Australian government leaders began to push for Indigenous advancement even before the war was ended.

> This government is not satisfied that sufficient interest has been taken in the Territories prior to Japanese invasion or that adequate funds had been provided for their development and advancement of native inhabitants...Advancement can be achieved only by providing facilities for better health, better education and for a greater participation by the natives in the wealth of their country and eventually in its government.[28]

"New Deal" for Indigenes: The goals of development following the war became reconstruction, economic development, establishment of schools and hospitals, and political education of the Indigenous population. The endless talk concerning educational planning changed to action. The former policy of self-support for the territories was rescinded and money was provided for development. In prewar years, the most spent in the Territory of New Guinea in any one year had been $38.000. In 1950, Australia spent $700,000 in New Guinea and $300,000 in Papua.[29]

Criticisms were quick to come from the European sector interested only in economic development. Mr. Ward, Australia's Minister for

External Territories, was said to subvert all considerations to that of Indigenous welfare; opponents feared that he would "kick big firms in the teeth and discourage European enterprise".[30] In October of 1949, the Pacific Island Monthly magazine said that Mr. Ward

> Shut himself away behind an extra-ordinary group of scientists, academicians, and new planners -- well meaning and honest, but thoroughly impractical people, who were thrilled to the marrow at the unique chance of shaping, for the eager and unchecked Leftist minister, a new paradise on earth for natives.[31]

The battle lines between economic development and Indigenous welfare were again drawn -- the Indigene still was not considered capable of participating in his own planning. Yet, rapid economic development could no longer be the primary focus (at least officially). It was recognized that the Indigenes must be a major factor in the planning for Papua New Guinea. Eventually the country must be returned to them. While the reality of economic development was still a major factor in planning, it was partially masked with questions concerning Indigenous welfare and education. No longer would Australia's question be whether or not they should be educated, but how fast they could proceed with this educational process.

For a time, it seemed that educational planning would be approached from the viewpoint of the Indigene and that the government might deal seriously with the question "Education for What?". Ward's government, in line with their progressive planning for Indigenous welfare, announced a "new deal" for the people. Education was to be controlled and planned by the government, though of necessity in cooperation yet with the missions. It was to be based on a policy of "cultural adaptation".

Education for Indigenous Needs: Community Schools: W.C. Groves was appointed Director of Education in 1946, a man long experienced with Indigenous education in Australia and in New Guinea. He had strong beliefs concerning education and had been an outspoken critic of pre-war educational policies. He believed that the "...department of education in native communities should have wide scope beyond the task of running schools".[32] In the absence of a Department of Education or any actual educational policy, he forged his own policy, based on his commitment to the needs of social welfare and to his belief in community development. By 1940, his Education Department was responsible for a host of related activities -- broadcasting, library services, adult education, music, handicrafts -- to name only a few.

He formalized the educational process by building new educational steps on existing mission structures of village schools. His new program was to be in three stages.

1. Village School. A four year village education, provided by the missions, would be taught mainly in the vernacular.

2. Area School. Several village schools would consolidate into a centrally located school which would provide a wide range of teaching and extra-curricular activities. There would be specialist teachers who would link the school's curriculum and program to the interests

of the local community. There would be activities for adults, management by a local people's committee, and the introduction of the English language both to prepare some students for entry to the next level and for general interest locally. His vision was of a school as a "focal point of new interests for the locality, a radiating centre for developmental stimuli for the area".[33]

3. District Central School. In each district there would be a post-primary school, which would then lead to vocational courses, technical or non-technical training for employment in administration or in teacher training programs.

As most children yet lived in a traditional Indigenous environment and would return there, these levels of schooling would have a rural bias in order to relate education to local needs and interests. The Vunamami Education Centre epitomized Groves' ideal type school.

> ...Begun in 1952, the Village Higher School was...part of a larger institution including a central school and teacher training group specializing in education with a rural bias. The dormitories and rooms of the central school had been built by the students themselves and the school became self-supporting in rations after the first four months. Academic teaching was based on the farming cycle with lessons in arithmetic, English and social studies devised to illustrate and support the outdoor activities.[34]

Highly pleased, Groves said that "This looks like one of my Native Education Dreams coming true".[35] He recommended that the school be a prototype for future mission and government schools.

Groves' dream as Director of Education was in agreement with the thinking of the new government's Minister of Territories, Mr. P.M.C. Hasluck who wrote:

> I also suggest that what we should try to do is not to transplant into the Territory the Australian educational system but to develop a Territory education system, meeting the needs of Territory people living in the Territory community. The schools are part of the process of creating a new nation, and we are engaged in an original and creative task, not simply giving skills and knowledge but shaping a community.
>
> ...It seems to me that we cannot divorce education from the life which people are living. It is true that we need to make it possible for Papua and New Guinea to produce all its own technicians...but the need for education concerns not only the tens of thousands of technicians but the life of the millions.
>
> When one looks at the country's resources and tries to estimate the future of the country one cannot come to any conclusion except that its people will still be predominantly agricultural people and are still likely to find a better standard of living, their happiest social integration and their highest personal satisfaction in circumstances in which a large majority of them are still a rural people and possibly still village people. If this forecast is correct then we do not want to start destroying something which we may later have to recreate. We must not educate people out of the ground that nourishes them. We should not by any means hold back anyone from...educational advancement...but over the years we also have to develop an educational system which is closely related to the situation of the Territory community of the future.
>
> I do not think that we want to use our schools in order to produce imitation Australians of the past century. We want our schools to be producing Papuans of the new century. We do not want education to be something that pulls the native boy up by the roots and separates him from his country and his people...[36]

Lack of Concensus on How to Implement Dreams: Mr. Hasluck was dealing with the heart of the educational issue, but the dream did not "come to pass", and today most of the things he did not wish to happen are a reality. The gap between dreams and programs is vast. It seems the difficulty lies in the progression from ideals, to policy statements, to the implementation of policy. The Trustee agreement which Australia made with the United Nations included four basic points; these mainly were concerned with the protection of the Indigene and the provision of some education. It did not spell out how these directives were to be accomplished. Hasluck translated these broad goals to slightly more specific ones concerning Indigenous welfare in general:

1. Educate all the children in Territory, at least to the point where they could read and write English;
2. Help the people and give them the means to earn more money so that they could buy goods and improve their way of life;
3. Teach the villagers how to do more things for themselves -- take part in politics, plant cash crops and form cooperatives, etc.;
4. Help people to keep the best parts of their own way of life and mix these with the new things brought by Europeans and the administration;
5. Bring the people together so that they would think of themselves as belonging to a single country;
6. Assist the spread of Christian religion; and
7. Build up strong ties of respect, interest and loyalty between Australia and New Guinea.[37]

In essence, he wanted even development (political, economic, social and educational), balanced progress toward these goals, and felt that education and opportunities should come together. He saw the voluntary acceptance of Christianity and the use of English as necessary for the blending of western and Indigenous cultures. All were worthy objectives; however, the acceptance of Christianity and the use of English, while logical for Australians, are culturally biased assumptions. It would seem that Groves' prototype school should have been able to effectively cope with the directives laid down by the Minister of Territories and that his school structure would be ideal to implement them. In actuality, however, their ideals concerning the best methods of implementation of these policies differed.

In 1954, a committee was organized to investigate the administration, organization and methods of the Department of Education. The committee's report specified that they believed the "range of operation should be limited to the establishment and running of schools".[38] Accordingly, in 1955, a policy decision was made by Hasluck which stated:

> Looking more narrowly to the means by which the Department of Education will achieve its objectives, I think that the distinctive nature of its work (as contrasted with the work of, say the Department of Native Affairs or the Department of Labour) is the conducting of schools.[39]

This directive effectively curtailed the Education Department's involvement in those community activities which were essential in relating education to the village life and in using the school as a tool for Community Development.

Several other problems became evident as further programs to implement policy were planned. Groves wanted to temporarily limit universal education in order to give priority to the establishment of effective teacher training institutions. He also believed that the first years should be taught in a local vernacular or Pidgin English. Hasluck, in another policy statement, retained Groves' school structure, but affirmed the priority of universal education and the use of English as the medium of instruction.

a. First attention is to be given to primary schools with the goal of teaching all children in controlled areas to read and write in English.

b. For the above purposes:
   i. efforts are to be made to ensure the cooperation of the Christian missions, and
   ii. special attention is to be given to teacher training.

c. Manual training and technical training is to be developed both in conjunction with the schools and in special schools in response to the developing needs of the people.[40]

This statement of priorities was legally established when Australia passed the Papua and New Guinea Education Ordinance. It recognized the responsibility of the government for providing education, but also recognized the place of missions in the field by assurance of continuing financial support. Differential grants-in-aid were given to mission schools, according to their accreditation as "registered", "recognized", or "exempt" and in accordance with their number of qualified teachers. In contrast, all government schools were "registered" schools. It also established an Education Advisory Board which was comprised of government and non-government representatives which would advise the Minister on matters related to education in the Territory.[41]

The government was assuming its rightful responsibility, yet in the process educational services were becoming less flexible, unable to adapt to regional needs, more regimented and structured. As more and more policies were legally established, there was less questioning of the best means to educate. At this point, it was also legally established that educational policies would be made by Australia. It was the beginning of new bureaucracy -- a task that Australians manage so efficiently.

H. H. Penny, former principal of a teacher training college in the Territories, blames the failure of the community school idea on the lack of imagination of Australian administrators.

> ...The community school failed not because the idea was unsound, but
>
> 1. because culturally eggbound Australians were unable to free themselves from their Australian ideas of the function and forms of schooling and from its practices;
> 2. because most of the influential Australians in P-N.G. and some including big business interests in Australia (Burns, Philip, W.R. Carpenter, New Guinea Co., Steamships Ltd.) and also our Army...were interested in a schooling which would equip "locals" to enter "usefully" into the literacy, numberacy and techniques (and now technologies) of our culture.[42]

Attempt at Universal Elementary Schooling. In 1958, G.T. Roscoe was appointed Director of Education, upon Groves' retirement. He efficiently laid down the plan for quickly implementing universal primary education. While this did not signify a policy change, as universal education had been the previous goal, never quite accepted or acted upon by Groves, the change came in the form and content of the educational process. All mention of rural bias was forgotten; education became the imitation and adaptation of Australian curriculum and planning. Haste and efficiency were emphasized, and now educational planners had tangible, specific goals.

In the 1950's more schools were built than hospitals. In the crash program, European teachers were brought in and given short courses in teaching; Indigenous people were trained upon completion of elementary school; inspectors were hired to assist missions to raise their standards, and the cost of educational expansion doubled. Yet ten years later, universal primary education had not been reached. Increased birth rate, inadequate supply of teachers, high wastage at low levels of education, lack of adequate accommodation for teachers, high cost of boarding schools and of the total school system were a few of the factors involved.[43]

Emphasis on Secondary and Tertiary Levels: In 1962, the United Nations Visiting Mission reported that Australia should force the pace of education, that the broad elementary base in Papua New Guinea was inadequate for the present stage of development. The Territory needed highly trained people, an elite to govern the country. The formation of a "privileged elite" had concerned previous planners and had been avoided in opting for a broadly-based elementary school system. The force of nationalism in many of the African countries perhaps was the basis for the "big push" educationally. L.W. Johnson took over the Directorship of Education and the emphasis was then laid on improving the quality of education and an expansion of the secondary level of education, even though the goal of universal primary education was not met -- and still is not in 1973.

> This required a rapid expansion of secondary and later tertiary education; a higher level of professional development in the teaching force, including the replacement or retraining by 1970 of the unqualified teachers in primary schools; the reorientation of the curriculum using material from Papua and New Guinea while introducing modern approaches

> to the teaching of mathematics, English, science and social studies. These qualitative needs had priority in the strategy of education for this period...[44]

In 1964, there was an output of Indigenous students from Form 4 of 66; in 1970 there were 1,700 students and a total enrollment of 20,000 pupils in secondary and technical courses.[45] Planning for a university began immediately; a few classes were begun in 1966. It has now graduated its first students.

Mr. McKinnon described the educational system as being in the process of evolving from an administrative-executive type to an authority which is primarily politically based.[46] In 1971, a Territory Education System was established; a tripartite system composed of the Department of Education as coordinator of services and the missions and local government councils as semi-autonomous members. A Territory Teaching Service is now the single employer of teachers for all three groups. Missions who chose not to join the Teaching Service still retained control of employment for their own mission, but are not aided financially by the Education System.

This policy toward decentralization and toward representative government by Indigenous people is a first real indication that the local people were to be allowed a voice in the provision of education for their children. By 1973, the Australian-planned Papua New Guinea system is proceeding at an efficient pace. The policy statements are humanistic and liberal -- beyond criticism. Local public pressures and local politics are beginning to affect the educational planning. The Indigenous Ministerial Member for Education, Mr. Toliman, outlined the goals he felt the Education Department must strive for:

1. Development of ideals of unity and service to the nation;
2. Expansion of enrolments; more financial input;
3. Encouragement of cultural identity through special cultural studies programs and further curriculum development;
4. More opportunities for in-service training;
5. Better conditions for teachers.[47]

In response, the Department published a booklet in 1971 listing these objectives and a series of more specific goals, established in order to implement Toliman's goals.[48] They were concerned with how to make the program better, more efficient, more relevant or how to "sell" it to parents and public. The Education Department has tried valiantly in the last few years to eradicate the problems involved in providing relevant education within a western-oriented bureaucratic structure.

> ...We have tried all sorts of devices to make the work of the primary school more realistic, but they haven't succeeded...First we put an enormous effort into working out a syllabus based on New Guinea village life, a syllabus which...is full of advice to teachers as to the importance of applying learning to village life and of choosing examples from village life. Then we put a great deal of effort into the writing of teachers' books and pupils' books...At the same time we put a great deal of effort into a primary final examination that teachers could not coach for. The idea was to test for real learning -- not just rote memorization. The aim was to persuade teachers to teach a relevant, village-oriented primary syllabus...[49]

The implication remains that the problems are increasing in spite of great efforts by dedicated people toward cohesive and comprehensive planning.

Summary: The United Nations' mandate to Australia concerning Papua New Guinea can be reduced to two directives: protect the people and educate them. The question of protection was rather obvious, but the question of "Education for What?" was never clearly answered. The United Nations gave no guidance here. Early attempts to establish rural-based educational programs were founded on the assumption that Papua New Guinea had a unique future, distinct from that of Australia. These programs allowed for local adaptation and learning clearly aligned with this premise. Education would complement village life, incorporate the villages, and provide a means whereby old and young could grow together. The idea of the blending of the cultures involved in the community school is difficult to implement, especially when the planning is done by educators alien to the culture. Who is to decide what the blend will be? What are the relationships between the elements selected for incorporation or for rejection? What teacher is wise enough to implement this type of program? What happens when value systems come into conflict? These questions are extremely difficult and intangible. However, they cannot be avoided if one is concerned with the "people" who are the basic ingredient of any system.

There was never a clear-cut repudiation of rural-based education, but with continued pressure to provide universal education quickly, the emphasis swung from no set curriculum, but one responsive to local needs, to a rigid curriculum created by experts from other countries and oriented toward western values and needs. It is far easier to work with concrete goals -- ones that can be measured and charted. The number of schools built and the number of children enrolled in school become the yardstick of educational progress.

In this goal-oriented atmosphere, the idea of blending of the cultures could not survive. It was naively "hoped" that by presenting the western way, each person could then make a choice of ideas and values for himself.

> ...hopefully in such a way that he will develop an integrated, harmonious personality and be able to live successfully in the society in which he will be an adult. The future society must develop in its own way as a result of the individuals in that society freely selecting customs, values and attitudes which suit them.[50]

This was an unrealistic attitude -- a real evasion of the issues. When all the rewards of a society -- good jobs, approval of those in power, racial acceptance -- are oriented toward the western way, few individuals can reject them. In addition, that "society" is not representative of the Indigenous people but of a mix of colonials and Indigenous elite with specific value systems. To reject society's prevalent values is to also be rejected by it. The educators no longer had to struggle with intangible values and beliefs, but with educational engineering and manpower planning. The world-wide rise of nationalism also gave impetus to the planning. Australians, wanting to leave a pre-packaged system, devised a plan, are continuously refining it, and are training Indigenous people to operate it, come Independence Day.

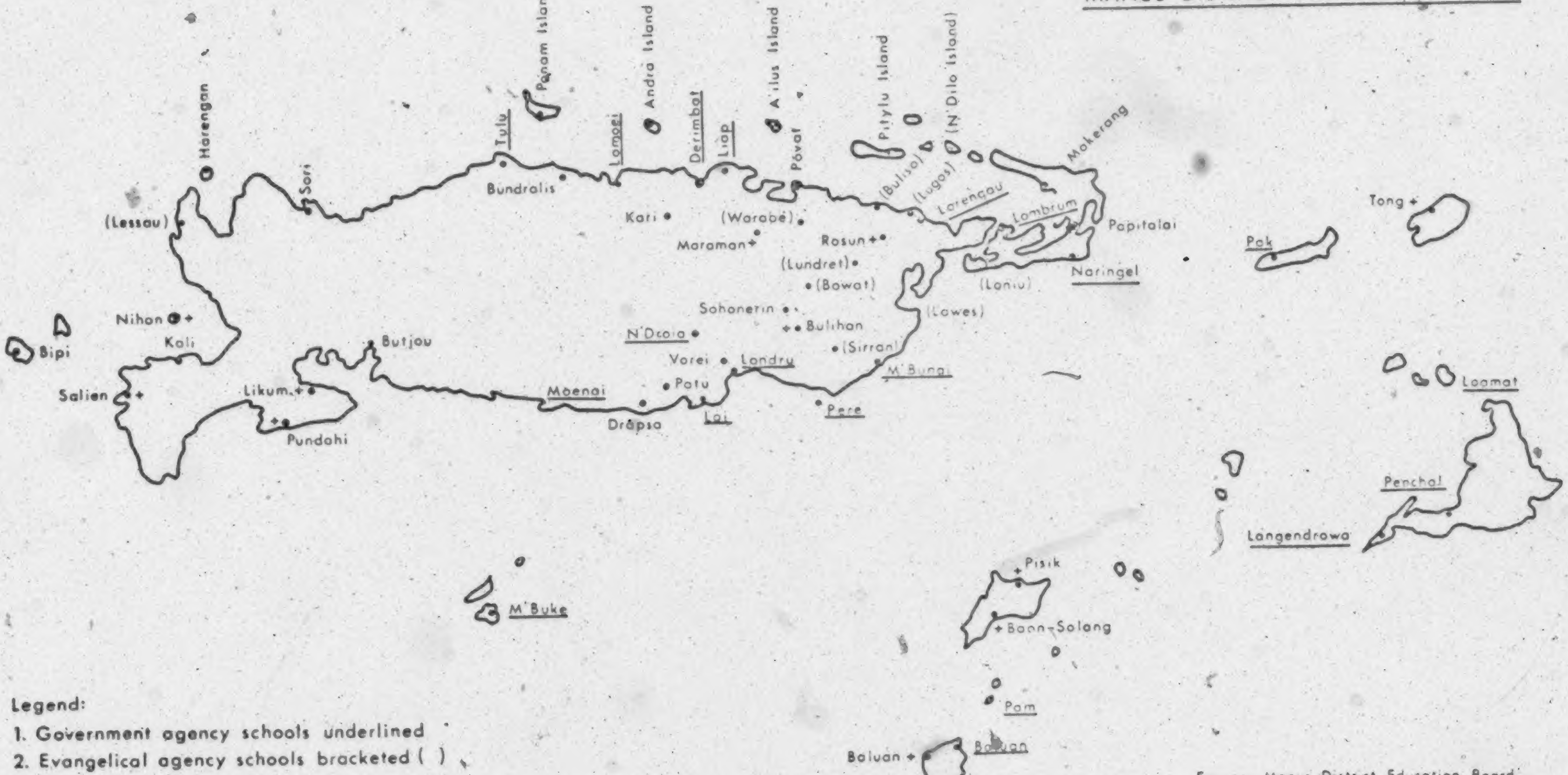
THE MANUS DISTRICT: A PRODUCT OF WESTERN-STYLE EDUCATION

Historical Development

The first documentation of contact between Manus people and Europeans was in 1816; however, it is believed that the Portuguese sailed in the area the century before. While whalers, blackbirders and traders pursued individual purposes in these islands for many years, the first charting of the area was not done until 1875 by the German government. In the following ten years, land was expropriated for plantations and coconut planting was started by Europeans. The Manus people had for some years been the object of German government interest and punitive expeditions, but shipping difficulties prevented the establishment of a government station there until 1911, twenty-seven years after it had annexed the Territory.[51] A German administration and police unit was posted at Loregau and German warships frequented New Guinea waters. (See Map of Admiralty Islands, of which Manus is the largest.)[52]

The Manus Evangelical Mission (Liebenzell) was begun when a German naval officer returned home and asked if missionaries could be sent to Manus Island. In 1914, two German missionaries, Friedrich Doepke and Hermann Kraft, were sent to Manus.[53] They were accompanied by some Indigenous evangelists from Rabaul and New Ireland. Catholic mission work had begun approximately during the same period of time by a German branch of a French-based organization. Following the war, German administrators

MANUS DISTRICT PRIMARY SCHOOLS



Harengan
(Lessau)
Sori
Tulu
Panam Island
Bundralis
Lomoei
Andra Island
Derimbat
Liap
A'ilus Island
Pövat
Pityilu Island
(Bulisa)
(Lugos)
(N'Dilo Island)
Mokerang
Lorengau
Lombrum
Papitalai
Naringel
(Loniu)
(Lawes)
Kari
(Warabe)
Maraman+
Rosun+
(Lundret)
(Bowat)
Sohonerin
+ Bulihan
(Sirran)
M'Bunai
N'Dcoia
Vorei
Landru
Potu
Moenai
Drapsa
Lai
Pere
Butjou
Nihon +
Kali
Bipi
Salien +
Likum +
Pundahi
M'Buke
Tong +
Pok
Loamat
Penchal
Langendrowa
Pisik +
+ Bonn-Solang
Pam
Baluan +
Baluan

Legend:
1. Government agency schools underlined
2. Evangelical agency schools bracketed ( )
3. S.D.A. agency schools marked +
4. Catholic agency schools untouched

Source: Manus District Education Board Minutes, 1971, Appendix 'B'.

FIGURE 2[52]

and planters were returned to Germany, but the missionaries were allowed to remain in the islands and continue their work.

From the beginning, the Manus Islanders were known for their independent spirit; they were a war-like people; fighting was their natural defense against invaders of their villagers. They were traditionally on guard constantly, watching for invading enemies and evil spirits. Their "justice" was often swift and sure retribution on those offending their code of ethics. It was natural that the Manus would resist government attempts to impose on them an outside authority; the common cause of their hostility was fear. In addition, the German pacification measures had been harsh. Men were taken from their villages to train as police or to work on plantations.

When S.A. Pethebridge was appointed as military officer in charge of the New Guinea Territory in 1915, the British had no policy of pacification and had set no proper limits for behavior of officers and police. While the intent, as recorded, was always peaceful establishment of control, in practice individual decisions were left up to the officer in command, his personality and the dynamics of the interaction. Pethbridge was concerned with the "rough and ready" measures which had been used to establish new British authority when taking control from the Germans. In 1915, he traveled to various parts of New Guinea and brought twelve men and a lieutenant to relieve the "garrison" at Lorengau. Since he had heard that the Manus had "a rather bad reputation", he wanted to establish friendly contact.

He brought gifts to the village leaders, along with the news that the Islands were now under British protection and rule.[54] This was no doubt confusing to the Islanders who had no feeling of loyalty to nor understanding of a foreign government. Their only contact with "a government" had been mainly the German missionaries; these were still present. The fact that Britain had assumed political responsibility -- and later Australia -- could have no meaning. World politics must have been beyond their scope of understanding or concern at that period of contact.

Peaceful pacification meant no killing. In order to avoid bloodshed when conducting a "punitive" expedition, the British would "rush" villages in the early morning, capturing the men to be punished, bringing them to formal trial and imprisonment. If a chief or sorcerer resisted, he could be sent away to Rabaul for a period of time -- with no recourse legally or otherwise.[55] This all-pervasiveness of control resulted in drastic action being taken over rather minor difficulties, as illustrated by Rowley.

> ...The case of four labourers who had run away from a plantation at Seeadlerhafen (Manus Island). They were recovered by the established method of seizing and holding hostages until the labourers were given up; the seizure of the hostages cost one villager his life. Two natives who attempted revenge were captured, also by the method of taking hostages; and the "chief of the village of Iru" was sentenced to ten strokes and the Calabush. The two captives who had attempted vengeance against the police were shot dead while attempting to run away from the station. "Both these Kanakas" were buried in the bush close to the station. I think under the circumstances the action of the police boys was justified, wrote Pethebridge to his Minister...[56]

This independent spirit of the Manus, noticed in the period of early contact, continued to characterize them throughout the following years. Their intelligence, independence and physical robustness attracted the Europeans who sought to place them in jobs such as policemen, ships' captains and crew, and labour bosses for plantations.[57] Sergeant Major Rami of Manus led the Rabaul police strike of 1929. Later, Margaret Mead documented the career of Paliau who established his own Indigenous church and political movement. He is still a member of the Papua New Guinea parliament and has been decorated by Queen Elizabeth.

Predictably, the Manus were slow to accept the mission's efforts at conversion or the government's efforts at recruitment of school boys. Maragret Mead says that in 1928

> The Manus people...who were just coming into real and unenthusiastic contact with Europeans, did not wish to send their cherished small boys away to school. Only the orphaned, the very stupid, the unstable were selected to go -- either to a school where they were to become literate in English, to be trained as clerks and school teachers, or to a trade school to learn carpentry...[58]

Only a few people had been converted to Christianity and the congregations were not strongly established when war broke out again, and Japan invaded the islands. That there were any adherents at all is perhaps significant, given the independence of the people. Another factor which is relevant is that it took many years for the missionaries to learn the language, a necessary prerequisite to mission education work. The people must have formed interesting ideas concerning the missionaries during this time when communication was impossible. No one has written of the process of conceptual formation which Indigenous people must go through before they can even begin to comprehend the purposes of a European who comes to live in a village. During this time, non-verbal cues would be extremely important.

In April, 1942, the Japanese invaded the Territory and conquered the few allied troops stationed there. For two years the Indigenes were forced to work with them. It is interesting that a few older men still speak some Japanese, learned during this time. Two years later, Americans and Australians recaptured the area after fierce fighting. Villages were bombed and strafed by aircraft, army amphibians landed on their beaches, and the villagers were confused and frightened by the strange happenings. Following the recapture, Manus Island itself became the biggest naval base in the Pacific and was strategic to further bombing raids in the Philippines. Hundreds of ships anchored in the harbour; the jungle was leveled; concrete was poured for airstrips; hospitals and warehouses built and filled with "cargo" -- the Australian name for goods.

As quickly as it came, it went. The dismantling of this massive base and the disposal of the cargo was quite a diplomatic problem for the Americans. Apparently, Australia refused to buy the surplus, thinking that the Americans would have to leave it anyway. Stubbornly, the Americans insisted on other means of disposal. They sold some of it to the Chinese businessmen and traders; the remainder was dumped in the harbours, in huge holes in the jungle, or abandoned to rust in the jungles and on the beaches. Many small items were given away to the Indigenous people. Still today, the digging up of "copper" is a major source of income for the Indigenous people who sell it to scrap metal collectors.

In a period of approximately five years, great "development" had come and gone -- a classic example of development based on situational factors extraneous to the local environment and outside of the understanding and participation of the Indigenous people. It would be interesting to probe their minds to determine how they viewed these phenomena which they had no knowledge of nor control over.

They had no basis on which to conceptualize the phenomena which they had just seen and experienced. They searched within their cultural concepts for answers. The traditional way of gaining status was the accumulation and exchange of goods -- dog teeth, food, shells. All of life, previous to Western invasion, was based on elaborate economic exchanges -- marriages, births, deaths. The white men not only had wealth so vast it was unimaginable, but so much they could share it -- even discard it. The people concluded that somehow white men had interrupted cargo sent to them from their ancestors; if they could only find the key, they could re-capture the wealth. By imitation of European ways, they searched for the understanding -- "The New Way". The failure of "Cargo Cults" to bring immediate gratification forced the people to re-think, to try another path. Perhaps Europeans talked of their "knowledge" in schools and missions, and they believed that schooling was the answer to the new way. Their desire for western education, then, was based not so much in a sophisticated "thirst for knowledge" but in a desire to accumulate wealth, to become "big men". Again, this means of achieving status was based in their culture; it was something which they knew and understood and they were attempting to adapt old ways to the new European methods.

The motivation to learn, therefore, was extremely high, though probably not for the reasons that the missionaries assumed. Where the people had previously resisted the overtures of the missionary, now he was enthusiastically welcomed. The missions and the government began their educational efforts again, following the war. Progress did not happen quickly, however, and Margaret Mead writes of the high hopes with which the people sought schooling and education.

> The whole hope of the New Way lay in the school boys, and the school boys who were learning to read and write, the schoolboys for whom the government would provide a real school with a real teacher, the schoolboys who sat up late at night, around a flickering bit of rag dipped in oil, chanting in unison from English primers.[59]

They still did not understand where school would lead them; they participated as if in a ritual. They had the "appearances" of education -- to sit still, to chant nonsense syllables, to look at pictures that had no real meaning to them -- this was the way to "the key".

The Evangelical Mission sent out a missionary from the United States in 1951, Rev. Norman Dietsch, to build the educational work of the mission. He was still the director while this study was being done and had participated in the training of most of the teachers interviewed. The mission perceived that it was an appropriate time for new directions and the foundation of its very strong formal school system was laid in the early 1950's.

When the first children completed elementary school and were given government jobs, "the way" took a new twist. While education had not given them the key to vast ancestral storehouses, it was the source of good jobs -- and money. Since traditionally, goods and money were always shared with one's relatives, the Manus had found a partial new way. The children must be educated. That drive for education still characterizes the Manus people.

Manus District Educational System: Descriptive

As seen in Table 1, 21 per cent of the population of Manus is enrolled in educational and training centers, a higher percentage than anywhere in Papua New Guinea. Although the Education Department says that there is 100 per cent availability of schooling on Manus, only 90 per cent of its children aged 7 to 12 are enrolled in the primary school. This is still the second highest percentage territory-wide, yet only 40 per cent of those leaving Standard 6 will be allowed to continue on to high school, despite their grades.

The Manus school system is divided into two parts at the primary level. In Primary T schools, lessons are provided in simplified English and a specially designed syllabus is followed. In Primary A schools, lessons are in English and a New South Wales (Australian) syllabus is followed.

TABLE 1

POPULATION AND SCHOOL ENROLMENTS BY DISTRICT FOR 1970[60]

District	TOTAL INDIGENOUS POPULATION		INDIGENOUS CHILDREN 7 - 12 YEARS		
	Estimated Population	% Enrolled in Recognized Schools, Vocational Centers, Technical Colleges	Estimated Population	Enrolments at Primary Schools	Percentage Enrolled
Western	67,600	11.7	10,400	5,153	50
Gulf	58,400	12.0	9,150	4,739	52
Central	150,600	16.2	22,700	15,746	69
Milne Bay	107,200	11.9	15,200	8,159	54
Northern	63,900	11.7	10,550	4,891	46
Papuan Coastal	447,700	13.3	68,000	38,688	57
Southern Highlands	207,300	4.4	36,700	6,729	18
Eastern Highlands	230,300	4.8	34,050	7,588	22
Chimbu	186,600	5.3	25,900	7,059	27
Western Highlands	331,700	5.3	47,050	11,444	24
Papuan Highlands	955,900	5.0	143,700	32,820	23
West Sepik	113,500	6.4	16,250	4,951	30
East Sepik	178,300	9.0	25,300	10,539	42
Medang	162,800	11.6	22,350	11,673	52
Morobe	228,600	7.9	34,800	11,633	33
New Guinea Coastal	683,200	8.9	98,700	38,796	39
West New Britain	51,800	16.5	8,100	6,036	75
East New Britain	125,600	19.0	18,000	15,195	84
New Ireland	58,700	17.2	7,450	7,147	96
Bougainville	86,400	17.7	12,350	9,623	77
Manus	23,700	21.1	3,700	3,308	90
New Guinea Islands	346,200	18.2	49,600	41,309	83
TOTAL	2,433,000	9.5	360,000	151,613	42

European children and a few children of mixed marriages attend the Primary A school, both of which are run by the Administration.

Approximately 40 per cent of the Primary T children who successfully complete a Standard 6 examination will be allowed to go on to high school, while all of the children who complete Standard 6 in Primary A school are automatically guaranteed high school placements in either other parts of the Territory or in Australia. On Manus, one high school is conducted by the Administration and the other by the Catholic Mission. Technical training is given at the vocational schools, three of which are run by the Catholic Mission and the other by the Administration.

TABLE 2

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT FIGURES OF MANUS DISTRICT BY TYPE OF SCHOOL[61]

School	Boys	Girls	Total	Number of Teachers	Number of Schools
Primary T	2,384	1,915	4,299	187	62
Primary A	45	40	85	3	2
High School	278	282	560	27	2
Vocational Centre	59	37	96	6	4
TOTALS	2,766	2,274	5,041	223	70

Primary T schools are conducted by the Administration and three mission agencies: the Catholic Mission, the Evangelical Mission, and the Seventh Day Adventist. While the Catholic and the Evangelical Missions opted for joining the National Teaching Service, the Seventh Day Adventist Mission is not a full member. Table 3 shows the school enrollment of the different agencies.

TABLE 3

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT FIGURES OF PRIMARY T SCHOOLS IN MANUS BY AGENCY[62]

Agency	Boys	Girls	Total	Number of Teachers	Number of Schools
Catholic Mission	724	600	1,324	62	20
Evangelical	319	259	578	26	10
Administration	1,028	813	1,841	73	20
Seventh Day Adventist	313	243	556	26	12
TOTALS	2,384	1,915	4,299	187	62

It is obvious that in the 1950's and the 1960's, the Administration, in co-operation with the missions, has done a superb job of providing educational opportunities for nearly all children at the elementary level and a high proportion at the secondary level. In contrast to the overall Territory patterns, Manus students are entering school at an early age and progressing through at an even rate. On the whole, Manus students finish elementary school at a younger age than other districts, although only by a few months -- 13.4 years for boys and 13.3 years for girls. (See Tables 4 and 5.) However, this simple measure of success educationally brings difficulties for the children involved. They have been away at school during crucial young years when they would have been learning how to live in village settings; their aspirations are molded by the school system, and when they finish at the young age of 13, they are immature -- too young to be on their own, too old to be taught traditional skills.

TABLE 4[63]

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIGENOUS STUDENTS BY LEVEL
MANUS DISTRICT

		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Mean
Prep.	M	8	46	27	13	10	2											6.8
	F	2	54	22	14	5												6.6
St. 1	M		20	155	112	17	8	1										7.5
	F	1	15	145	113	24	4											7.5
St. 2	M		2	26	143	114	80	31	8	2								8.9
	F		6	25	118	100	72	19	5	1								8.8
St. 3	M			8	44	131	98	66	39	12	1							9.9
	F			14	34	99	84	54	28	6	1							9.8
St. 4	M				4	42	135	118	72	34	5	2		1				10.8
	F				3	27	93	95	51	28	5		2					10.9
St. 5	M					1	14	94	81	66	61	31	8	3				12.6
	F					4	7	70	60	57	44	12	6					12.4
St. 6	M						4	25	94	99	88	63	23	5	1			13.4
	F						4	35	62	61	84	53	11	2				13.3
Fm. 1	M								1	21	32	25	21	1				14.5
	F								2	26	38	37	12	1				14.3
Fm. 2	M									5	12	27	17	7	2	1		15.3
	F								1	4	18	25	26	6	1			15.1
TOTAL		11	143	422	598	474	605	608	504	421	389	273	126	26	4	1		11.0

TABLE 5[64]

Age Distribution of Indigenous Students by Level Total Territory

		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Mean
Prep.	M	626	3028	3156	1568	631	329	103	45	20	3	2			1	1	2	7.0
	F	346	2027	2083	1015	378	178	60	29	4	2							7.0
St. 1	M	309	2806	8488	7914	4087	2423	857	475	188	90	40	37	24	15	6	7	8.0
	F	186	1784	5382	4953	2473	1279	496	227	71	35	9	30	16	6	3	1	7.9
St. 2	M		299	2183	6010	6374	5230	2971	1460	623	313	151	77	37	22	10	10	9.4
	F		207	1278	3664	3908	2988	1543	729	279	137	49	27	4	2	1	3	9.3
St. 3	M			198	1390	3999	5193	4064	3044	1661	749	368	205	88	48	23	24	10.7
	F			170	893	2693	3338	2425	1644	800	341	150	62	12	8	5	7	10.5
St. 4	M				203	1108	3406	4178	3872	2730	1738	791	383	205	88	36	23	11.8
	F				124	759	2138	2509	2203	1523	779	357	158	63	18	8	4	11.6
St. 5.	M					142	851	2405	3507	3286	2590	1633	752	377	145	49	34	13.0
	F					100	447	1499	2200	1827	1448	728	290	94	24	7	6	12.7
St. 6.	M						81	578	1865	2744	3072	2323	1512	623	288	95	68	14.1
	F						42	332	1046	1573	1709	1218	594	188	57	18	4	13.8
Fm 1.	M							50	272	825	1098	1067	758	464	189	41	14	14.7
	F							15	122	371	545	509	304	133	46	13	13	14.6
Fm 2.	M								37	186	563	869	968	695	469	152	55	15.9
	F								10	57	249	366	438	249	128	44	21	15.8
Totals		1467	10151	22938	27734	26652	27923	24085	22787	18768	15461	10630	6595	3272	1554	512	296	11.5

Manus also has a low pupil-teacher ratio. This is certainly an asset education-wise. Small classes are ideal for maximum learning, especially in the early grades. However, in a developing country which is concerned with maximum efficiency at low cost, small classes are an educational luxury. Manus then has the reverse problem of trying to increase the student-teacher ratio! (See Table 6.)

Manus has the lowest ratio of all the agencies throughout the Papua New Guinea system with the exception of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission in Milne Bay; there was a .4 difference. To compare the low student-teacher ratio of the Manus District (approximately 24.0) with the Anglican Mission in the Eastern Highlands (108.0) or with the Lutheran Mission in the Gulf District (77.0) or even with the Administration schools in the Western District (37.5) reveals the great diversity of educational opportunity throughout the Territory. Disproportionate ratios like these can become divisive politically when there is a growing awareness on the part of the citizens concerning political and educational matters.

The Manus District has achieved its preliminary educational goals, and it should now be able to pursue the three main aims set down in the District Development Plan:

a. To improve the quality of the curriculum and its presentation in the schools,
b. To establish close, mutually beneficial relationships between the schools and their communities, and
c. To utilize district Primary Staff as effectively as possible.[66]

TABLE 6

Pupil-Teacher Ratios in Primary Schools By Authority and District

District	Admin.	Anglican	Evan. All	Lutheran	S.D.A.	United	Catholic	Other
Western	37.5		37.9			41.1	34.6	
Gulf	28.7			77.0	41.3	38.4	27.7	40.0
Central	33.7	27.3			48.2	34.2	31.1	77.5
Milne Bay	30.2	35.5			21.2	34.1	28.9	
Northern	32.9	34.1			32.2			
S. Highlands	33.4		37.5	28.4	32.5	30.8	38.6	74.5
E. Highlands	35.3	108.0	49.1	29.7	43.0		34.0	41.1
Chimbu	35.3	37.2	28.0	29.9	65.3		38.7	
W. Highlands	36.5	36.5	34.6	38.8	32.7		41.1	
W. Sepik	30.1		31.9				38.4	
E. Sepik	34.7		42.9		33.2		37.5	
Madang	33.1	29.5	36.9	33.2	27.5		33.6	
Morobe	34.4			32.7	25.4		45.0	
W. New Britain	31.7	25.7			41.6	44.9	33.9	
E. New Britain	32.5				23.9	33.8	30.4	
N. Ireland	30.1				33.6	31.9	26.0	
Bougainville	31.0				28.0	25.7	32.2	
Manus	24.7		23.8		21.6		23.3	
Average	33.1	34.3	36.7	33.1	33.5	33.6	33.2	51.7

The Manus example has shown that educational planners can provide western education, efficiently and effectively. The Manus District should be a developer's dream -- a utopia for educational planners. But it isn't. Why?

SOME DISFUNCTIONALITY OF THE SYSTEM

If one analyzes some of the disfunctional aspects of the Manus educational system, one can begin to see the over-all patterns and problems of utilizing a western-oriented system as a tool for development. On the surface, education is successful; students are being educated; parents are demanding more and more facilities; students are in demand for important jobs. In an economic analysis, consumer demand is enough to justify the production and production increases. However, it is important to proceed to another level of analysis. The Manus system has some side-products which would seem to be disfunctional for the balanced, even development of the District in the long run.

Disfunctional Aspects of Manus Education

Education Does Not Necessarily Benefit Local Economic Development: Because of the lack of social and economic opportunities on Manus, education there is not promoting economic development locally, although money is being sent home. Although economists claim that there is a direct relationship between the level of education in an area and its productivity, there are other intervening variables in the Manus case. Because of the lack of resources on the island, there are few opportunities for educated people to be productive. At present, there is a high degree of out-migration to other districts, a pattern which at least is benefiting the nation at large. However, if Australia lifts its white-only policy, it is highly probable that the educated Indigene will migrate there, thereby depriving even Papua New Guinea of their productive capacity and intellectual contribution necessary for a developing country. On the other hand, if regional jealousies or financial national difficulties demand a cut-back in education opportunity for Manus students or if the present pattern of out-migration is limited or cut off, one could predict an increasing degree of frustration and hostility in the Manus people. Margaret Mead says that opportunity, once offered, must not be withdrawn.[67]

Dilemma of Standard 6 Leaver: Opportunities for high school entrance are based on the successful completion of an examination at the end of Standard 6. The parents and relatives of Manus children place tremendous pressure on them to pass this examination as it is the "door to economic opportunity" -- not only for the child but for the whole clan. Teachers teach almost exclusively for the examination, although the syllabus states that curriculum in the elementary school is to be community-oriented. The ultimate personal distinction for a Manus child is to "do well in school" or to "come to the top of the class". However, the high school placements are limited, and at least 60 per cent of the children must automatically fail no matter how well they do on this crucial examination. The percentage grade necessary for passing varies with the number of students who do well; the more who do well, the higher the grade needed to pass. This quota system allows for allocation of scarce educational resources to other districts, but is punitive toward an educationally successful district like Manus.

Because of the "failure" of their child, and of their financial investment, parents are usually unwilling to send a child to a local vocational school for further training. In quite a few instances, the "failure" is beaten, socially ostracized for a time, or "cut with glass". He not only is personally disappointed, but feels rejected by the school and by the village. Besides what this must do to his self-concept, there are other, more tangible, difficulties. He is too young, at 13, to become a responsible and productive member of the community -- nor does he know how to be, since he has been in school. What he learned in school did not equip him to function in the village, nor does he have enough education for skilled jobs in the town. At 13, he is labeled a failure by the school and by the family and clan members, yet he will not listen to them because they "have not been to school". The shame and feelings of inadequacy of the child are great; his spirit is broken and his self-concept is shattered. He is a failure because of the system, not because he failed to learn. What the system taught him to desire as being the only worthwhile measure of oneself, it denied him. The irony of the situation is that the more successful the school is in "educating" the child, the greater is the resulting frustration when he is denied access to further success within that system.

Migration to Urban Centers: Migration to the city of these Standard 6 leavers is becoming a greater problem in Papua New Guinea -- as in all developing countries. Because of the economic opportunity available through education, Standard 6 leavers will try to find another route of opportunity when access to High School is blocked. A few years ago, there were opportunities to repeat grades or to transfer to other schools when one failed the examination, Increasingly, this route is being eliminated. However, fewer jobs are available now even to high school leavers than a few years back when a few years of elementary education was enough for a government job. The more students going on to high school, the higher the job requirements and the fewer opportunities available to those without qualifications. Crime increase and social problems in the urban centers have magnified in the last few years with the influx of disappointed job seekers.

Education is Political: To a great extent, the establishment of schools is a political matter. On Manus, education has been over-sold. It has the highest percentage of students in educational institutions in all of Papua New Guinea, yet the parents want more opportunities to be provided. Other districts, especially the Highlands, look with suspicion upon more educated districts and wish to postpone Independence until they can "catch up" -- an impossibility in reality. However, in order to attempt to give equal opportunity to other districts, Manus students will be given a lower quota of educational placements than other districts. Because of their educational success, they must be discriminated against. As educational expectations increase, then educational opportunities must decrease. The resulting frustration will inevitably lead to hostility and conflict. In addition, the regional jealousies and frustrations between districts as a result is not conducive to the creation of national unity.

Anti-European Feelings: In spite of the fact that educational opportunity is higher than in any other district, Ruth Finney, in 1971, documented that the High School students of Manus were more highly critical of Europeans than the students of any other district.[68] It is interesting to speculate that if the successful Manus students are anti-European in their feelings, what are the frustrations of those on Manus who are less successful? As education raises awareness of racial difficulties and inequalities, it is possible that national unity may be created in opposition to Europeans, especially given their educational and economic control of Papua New Guinea.

The Educational System -- Too Costly for ~~the~~ Indigenes: A good example of Papua New Guinea's financial dependence upon outside sources, especially Australia, is the mission school. Because the mission has joined the National Teaching Service, the teachers' salaries are paid by the government; however, the basic educational expenses for the mission school must come from the mission organization, through financial gifts from the home offices, Germany or the United States. Financial concerns are one of the biggest areas of difficulty between missions and the Indigenous people. It is impossible for the Indigenes to raise enough money to support the school. For the churches to withdraw financial support from the schools would result in a collapse of the present school structure. Likewise, following Independence, for Australia to withdraw her financial support would leave the Territory's educational system built on a false economy as government resources are dependent on Australian financing.

The teachers' salaries are another example of the European-Indigene dilemma. In order to avoid accusations of discrimination, the European and Indigene teachers' salaries were equalized, according to education and experience. This solved one problem and created another. While the salaries are still not high, according to western standards, they are extremely high in comparison to the average villager. This financial discrepancy tends to make the Indigenous teacher an "elite" who is highly paid for his services -- at the expense of others in the economy. To be paid so highly could be the beginning of a class system in the Territory. The feeling of superiority to one's fellow man is not conducive to national unity, nor can there be a feeling of service and dedication to cause -- whether it be to the mission or to the nation.

Lack of Specific National Purpose

The lack of specific national purposes is reflected in all of these disfunctional aspects of Manus education. For what are the children being educated? The vacillation between planning for village life or for western life is still plaguing the system. Without specific national purposes for education, the question of functionality is extremely difficult to analyze. What is functional for a system that is producing "black Australians" in all possible haste is disfunctional for a system that is attempting to forge a nation that is appropriate to all its people and to their needs. Education cannot serve both purposes effectively -- just as national policies for Indigenous welfare could not benefit the Indigene and also give preference to European economic desires at the same time. Functionality has little meaning outside of specific national purposes, and many of the ever-present educational dilemmas will never be solved until clear-cut goals are spelled out. The educational process is not static, but a dynamic cumulative force. It is likely that the negative, unintended results of fuzzy educational planning will outweigh any positive aspects.

Educational Planning: Questions Related to "Education for What?"

There are many questions concerning the educational system that must be dealt with by educational planners. However, each hinges on the answer to the most crucial question, "Education for What?". When this politically-based question can be answered, then the other questions of "Education for Whom?", "Education by What Processes?" or "Education by Whom?" can more easily be handled. At present, the following questions can be answered in at least two ways -- depending on the educator's orientation toward the purpose of the educational process. It is useless to debate them until the goals are specified. This list is not all-inclusive, but is indicative of the enormity of the difficulty in educational planning without specific guidelines.

Education for Whom?

1. Is an elementary education to be provided for all, or is it to be limited to an educated elite?
    a. If it is to be limited, will this lead to a privileged class in Papua New Guinea?
    b. If it is to be limited, what are the best means of selecting those who go on? What happens to those who are not selected?
2. Should boys be given preference educationally to girls, since girls are less likely to be economically productive?
3. Does an Indigenous child have as much right to an education as a European child of parents working in Papua New Guinea?
4. Is educational opportunity to be provided equally for rural and for urban children?
5. Is educational opportunity to be provided equally for different regions of Papua New Guinea?
6. At what age should children be enrolled in school?

Education by What Processes?

1. Is the curriculum to be western-oriented or rural-oriented?

2. Are lessons to be taught in English, Pidgin, or a vernacular?

3. Is the best method for teaching to follow a strict syllabus, to utilize a flexible teaching structure, or to use teaching machines in order to equalize the inadequacies of the Indigenous teacher?

Education by Whom?

If the goal of education is a western-oriented curriculum, then European teachers would no doubt be the best; however, if the goal is education for nationhood, the Indigenous teacher would be preferable -- even if less skilled technically. This question is already answered, of necessity, for Papua New Guinea since not enough Europeans are available for teaching in the Territory. Indigenous teachers had to be used. The type of teacher training, then, becomes the crucial issue. Can an Indigenous teacher learn the western system well enough to teach children? On the other hand, can someone extraneous to a society successfully teach the perpetuation of its culture -- or even the adaptation of the culture? It seems essential again to decide on the purposes of education.

Summary

The educational system of Papua New Guinea developed within a colonial context. The formation of the system paralleled the development of policies for Indigenous welfare and was shaped by European attitudes toward Indigenous welfare in competition with European needs and desires. The Administration procedures, the curricula, and the teachers were all "imported" from the countries which were currently in control. Even when attempts were made to adapt the system to fit the new environment, there was little questioning of the basic value assumptions being taught or little analysis of educational content for cultural biases and assumptions. The main question of "Education for What?" became a side issue and was never fully explored.

A foreign system, however good and well-intentioned, cannot transmit the local cultural heritage nor educate Indigenous people for "nation building". It can only teach, consciously or unconsciously, that what it knows: life in a colonial setting, perpetuating western values and attitudes. Stephen Arons, in Saturday Review, claimed that "any institutional educational setting carries in its structure, pedagogy, material, and rules of behavior the imprint of the value system that is adhered to by those who control it.[69]

Bacchus has pointed out an even more subtle result of colonial education which deters developing countries, when independent, from creative and relevant educational planning.

> But the least obvious and possibly the most insidious heritage -- insidious because its existence is usually denied and it is less obvious because it has been so successfully internalized in the ex-colonial peoples -- is the effect of the conditioning which took place during the period of colonial rule, developing in the people what the psychologists would call the personality syndrome of dependence. This makes them so heavily dependent on the mother country for ideas and practices that it is often

> difficult for them to think out their own solutions to problems...[70]

S.K. Dey, the founder of Community Development in India, states the essence of the above problem in two concise sentences. "Colonial rulers had left. The ghosts of colonial rule remained behind."[71]

When examining a few of the general disfunctional aspects of Manus education one sees that all the educational dilemmas result in great stress for the individual or for the society. When cultures come in conflict, stress is inevitable and must be somehow handled -- individually and societally. (See Appendix B for literature written by Manus Indigenes which strongly verbalizes feelings of stress, frustration and hatred.) Another method for handling stress is internalization.

> ...The clash of two or more technologically unequal cultural systems is a world-wide phenomenon...the technologically less well-equipped peoples are prone to feelings of inferiority and self-disparagement. This attitude throws into question the worth of one's own identity, a questioning which is reinforced when the individual perceives that others' estimates of himself are similar to his own.[72]

The other possibility, not exclusive of the first, is that the stress and frustration can become so great that, when the external and internal conditions are right, explosive and violent behaviour may erupt.

FOOTNOTES

[1] L.P. Mair, Australia In New Guinea (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1971, second edition), p.11.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Peter Ryan, editor, Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, V.II (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1972), p.883.

[4] Mair, op. cit., pp. 11, 12.

[5] Ibid., pp. 67-68.

[6] Ryan, op. cit., p. 884.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., V. I, p. 317.

[9] Ibid., p. 320.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., p. 492.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., p. 490.

[14] B. Biskup and H. Nelson, A Short History of New Guinea, Revised Edition. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1968), p. 250.

[15] Mair, op. cit., p. 13.

[16] C.D. Rowley, The Australians in German New Guinea, 1914-1921 (Sydney: Melbourne University Press, 1958), p. 264.

[17] Ryan, op. cit., p. 320.

[18] Ibid., p. 321.

[19] Biskup, op. cit., p. 106.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Rowley, op. cit., p. 41.

[23] Ibid., p. 99.

[24] Ibid., p. 101. (Quoting J.S. Lyng, Our New Possession, pp. 238-9.)

[25] Ibid., p. 106, 107.

[26] Ibid., p. 140.

[27] Margaret Mead, New Lives for Old: Cultural Transformation, Manus, 1928-1953 (New York: A Mentor Book, 1956), p. 149.

[28] Biskup, op. cit., p. 114.

[29] Ibid., p. 123.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., p.129.

[32] Ryan, op. cit., p. 323.

[33] Ibid., p. 324.

[34] Ibid., p. 325.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Hon. Paul Hasluck, "Education in Papua and New Guinea," Australian Territories, V. 2, No. 5 (September, 1962), pp. 9-10.

[37] Biskup, op. cit., p. 134.

[38] Ryan, op. cit., p. 324.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Hasluck, op. cit., p. 5.

[41] P. Ferguson, "The Contribution of the Missions to Education in Papua and New Guinea," Australian Territories, V. 3, No. 1 (January, 1963), pp. 5-6.

[42] Mr. H.H. Penny, in a letter sent to author, April 4, 1972.

[43] Ryan, op. cit., p. 328.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] K.R. McKinnon, "Education in Papua and New Guinea: The 20 Post War Years," Australian External Territories, V. 1, No. 4 (August, 1968), p. 17.

[47] Department of Education: 1971 Educational Objectives (Konedobu: Territory of Papua New Guinea, 1971, booklet), preface.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Vin McNamara, "High School Selection and the Breakdown of Village Society," (Konedobu: Territory of Papua and New Guinea, Education Department, mimeographed Background Paper No. 1), p. 1.

[50] Ryan, op. cit., p. 346.

[51] Rowley, op. cit. p. 36.

[52] Map adapted, Manus District Education Board, 1-18-12.

[53] "Liebenzeller Mission" (now Manus Evangelical Mission, papers from the files of the American director of the mission, Rev. Norman Dietsch in Schooley's Mountain, New Jersey. This date of 1914 updates Rowley's historical account by five years.)

[54] Rowley, op. cit., p. 18.

[55] Ibid., p. 209.

[56] Ibid., p. 210.

[57] Ryan, op. cit., p. 696.

[58] Mead, op. cit., p. 194-195.

[59] Ibid., p. 352.

[60] Ryan, op. cit., V.I, p. 356. Total table not included in thesis.

[61] Manus Education Board Meetings (Manus District Education Board papers 1-18-12), appendix A.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Department of Education: Territory of Papua and New Guinea, "Bulletin of Official Statistics" (Konedobu, Territory of Papua and New Guinea, September, 1970), p. 6.18. Table is only a part of original one.

[64] Ibid., p. 6.21. Table is only a part of original one.

[65] Ibid., p. 7.9.

[66] Manus Education Board Meetings (Manus District Education Board papers 1-18-12).

[67] Mead, op. cit., pp. 370-371.

[68] Ruth Finney, Would-Be Entrepreneurs? A Study of Motivation in New Guinea (Boroko, Papua New Guinea: New Guinea Research Bulletin, No. 41, 1971), p. 137.

[69] Stephen Arons, "Compulsory Education: The Plain People Resist," Saturday Review (January 15, 1972), p. 56.

[70] M.K. Bacchus, "Education and Change," New World Quarterly, V. 5, No. 1-2 (Croptime, 1969), p. 66.

[71] S.K. Dey, Nilokheri (London: Asia Publishing House, 1962), p.3.

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CHAPTER IV

THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS :

THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE INDIGENOUS TEACHER

The world of the Indigenous teacher of the Evangelical Mission seems to be an ambiguous middle-ground "somewhere" between village and western life. Outwardly, he (the majority) appears western in Australian-like walking shorts, crisp white shirt, knee socks and polished black shoes. Inwardly, he is yet a child of the village, struggling to find a comfortable path between the old reality and the new. His world is a combination of diverse and often conflicting teachings, values, and attitudes. This chapter attempts to describe these various worlds as much as possible from the teacher's own viewpoint: his village socialization, his educational experience, his career as a teacher, and his role as an educated citizen. An attempt will be made to describe and analyze some of the areas of conflict between these diverse worlds. Margaret Mead supplied valuable descriptive data on early socialization; the majority of the present data comes from personal interviews.

All of the teachers who belonged to the Evangelical Mission and who were then teaching in the Manus District were interviewed for this study. However, the teachers from the Administration and from the Catholic Mission agencies were not total, nor representative, samples. They were head teachers attending a workshop at the district headquarters. As such, their data can only be used for general comparisons; the added information which they shed on the problems of Indigenous teachers is seen as informative, not definitive. Their information often serves to confirm the generality of certain feelings and attitudes expressed by the Evangelical Mission teachers, indicating that much of the information is not unique to a few teachers from a specific organization.

THE VILLAGE PERSPECTIVE: THE TEACHER AS A PRODUCT OF VILLAGE SOCIALIZATION

Early Socialization in an Homogeneous Society

Margaret Mead arrived on Manus Island in 1928 to study the education and mental development of young children. At that time, Manus had no particular significance for her, but was chosen because it fitted her research requirements: a Melanesian culture in a fairly primitive state. While she may have under-estimated the effect and amount of culture contact prior to that time, nevertheless, the Indigenous culture was still fairly homogeneous -- an important factor.

She documented what she believed to be a curious discontinuity between child raising patterns and adult roles. In 1928, she described the adults as "driven, angry, rivalrous, acquisitive lot of people who valued property and trade above any form of human happiness -- except the maintenance of life itself."[1] Yet, the children of these same people were the "gayest, most lively and curious, generous and friendly"[2] children she had ever known. She looked for factors in the socialization process that would explain this discrepancy.

In a harsh environment, where one's survival depends on one's "near-instinctive" reactions to danger, physical dexterity is extremely important. The Manus children learned survival skills, surefootedness, and muscular coordination at an early age. This physical training was rigid and persistent, yet gentle. The child's physical habits were learned in natural situations by imitative gesture and constant play-practice. The parents were never in too much of a hurry to forbid useful play, and the play was usually a miniature of the actual adult world. Fathers not only fashioned small canoes for the child to paddle in the lagoons, but encouraged children to practice in the large canoes by rowing them to nearby destinations.

> And here again there are no harsh words when a child steers clumsily, only a complete lack of interest. But the first sure deft stroke which guides the canoe back to its course is greeted with approval.[3]

While parents did not expose children to unnecessary risk and did not allow them to "stray beyond the limits of safety",[4] yet they actively encouraged them to continually test their limits. Children were not shamed, but neither were they "shielded". When they failed, they were expected to try again; they were given no comfort for failure and therefore there was little opportunity for self-pity. When a child was not able to perform a certain task, it was accepted as "not understanding yet"[5], but it was assumed that shortly it would be a possibility. In this way, the children were taught to be extremely self-sufficient.

In contrast to the high physical expectations, the community demanded nothing of the child socially except for respect for property and the observance of some social taboos. No obedience or deference to parental wishes was demanded. A child was not expected to learn self-control or the sublimation of any personal wish to that of the parent -- or any adult.

> Undoubtedly this tremendous social freedom re-inforces their physical efficiency. On a basis of motor skill is laid a superstructure of complete self-confidence. The child in Manus is lord of the universe, undisciplined, unchecked by any reverence or respect for his elders, free except for a narrow thread of shame which runs through his daily life.[6]

This self-centered, self-confident, happy and carefree child became the sullen, unhappy adult of Margaret Mead's description. How? In the homogeneous culture of Manus, the young adult had no option but to conform to the expectations of his unpleasant adult world. The essence of Manus culture was a vast network of obligatory economic relationships. A young man was placed in debt for many years to relatives who paid the bride price for a wife chosen by them for economic reasons. A man and his wife belonged to competing economic structures, rivals even for food. Their child became their only common interest. A young person's world was further circumscribed by social taboos and fear of angering the dead ancestors who could arbitrarily cause sickness or death. Between the demands of the physical world and the demands of the spirit world (both real), the social control was all-encompassing. At that time, Margaret Mead believed that it did not matter how children were socialized; the outcome would always be the same in that society had won. "Any method of socialization would do" as long as every adult which the child encountered in this process was saturated with "tradition".[7] It was also vital to this process that there were no opportunities for alternative choices.

Margaret Mead felt that the discrepancy in the Manus socialization process produced a potentiality for other types of cultural expression, but that this potentiality was "passive, not active, helpless without a cultural milieu in which to grow".[8] While she believed that the contrast between freedom in youth and strict demands in adulthood made for personality and societal conflicts , nevertheless, she concluded that society could not be altered by giving children new behavior patterns to which society gave no scope for realization.

In 1953, upon returning to Manus Island, the Indigenous people were in the midst of responding to massive cultural contacts due to World War II , as described earlier. Rather than resisting changes, the Manus adults (who were the children of her 1928 study) were welcoming change, re-structuring many of their social, cultural and religious forms. She re-analyzed her 1928 findings in the light of these later occurrences. Why were the Manus people so receptive to change? Was there something inherent in the character formation of the children which produced desire for change? Or was the change first accomplished in the adults who then provided a climate within which children could adapt? If so, how had the change come to the adult? Her final analysis combined the two seemingly diverse alternatives into a single theory of change -- "latent deviance".

She had previously noted the discrepancy in role expectations between childhood and adulthood, but did not fully realize the significance of this discontinuity in 1928. She had discussed the resulting "passive potentialities" for change, but believed that these tendencies were discarded when the child became an adult, especially in a society with no options for alternative choices.

However, in 1953, she decided that these potentialities for change were not discarded upon reaching adulthood, but were held in check by lack of opportunities.

> ...a society could, in effect, produce a "latent deviance" in its members which...was the by-product of the whole system of character formation.[9]

In an adult, this "latent deviance" produced a "driving discontent with things as they were", but that drive was not strong enough to produce change in an homogeneous society. Instead, it resulted in the sullen, but angry, conformity to the demands of adult life. The anger and frustration of the 1928 Manus adult was clearly documented by Margaret Mead, who also mentioned the loss of self-respect in the Manus young people despite their early childhood self-confidence. This change from self-confidence to self-depreciation indicated to her an inward turning of their anger and frustration toward a society whose cultural bonds were strong enough to contain these unhappy individuals.[10]

In light of the new evidence, Margaret Mead hypothesized that it took a change in the external world to trigger the "latent deviance" into an "active force" for change, and the form of the educational experience gave the Manus the "potentialities for change which would be lacking in people differently educated".[11] One could speculate that this latent deviance, whenever and however it occurs, still functions to implement change -- when the conditions are right and the opportunity is there. If there are no available options, the energy produced by dissatisfaction and discontent is "dammed up" -- perhaps turning inward or funnelled into alternate, acceptable routes for a time. What is essential here is the strong evidence that even in a fairly closed, limited environment where education was provided by the village, for village life, the conflict between expectations of a child's role and an adult's role produced enough discontinuity to set in motion rippling desires for change. What is the potential for change when the conflicts between these two roles come from radically diverse cultures (Indigenous and European)?

Early Socialization in a Semi-Homogeneous Society

The young Manus teachers were children at the time of Margaret Mead's second arrival in 1953. The massive culture contact of the war had helped to further loosen the tight bonds of the former homogeneous culture. The people had been exposed to a whole realm of alternatives, and society had given way somewhat to allow more diversity and choice. Many people discarded their "old ways" in favor of the "New Way", a way that involved Cargo Cult activities, as mentioned previously. Many villages were reorganized and drawn together through these Cult activities. Villages who did not follow the "New Way" actively sought change by substituting Christianity and membership in the Mission groups for their former beliefs.[12] Whether within the Cult or within the Mission, education was seen as the avenue for success, and the demand for schooling was high. During this time, even a few years of schooling were sufficient to ensure a student a job in the Administration -- as a clerk, a policeman, a teacher, a medical assistant, etc.

The children of 1953 were raised much the same as the 1928 children, but within this new set of expectations. Constant child care was provided by not only the mother, as previously, but by the father and a host of relatives -- all who were more relaxed now, free from many of the previous taboos and the extreme forms of social control. Parents still placed a premium on autonomy and physical dexterity. From earliest childhood, motor freedom was anticipated and encouraged, but not forced. For the very young, an adult was a "human transportation system"[13], carrying the child in a brightly-colored cloth sling on his back. This left adult hands free to work. The child was not forced to sit, stand or walk before he was able. Yet parents continually encouraged and applauded his efforts to achieve even a small degree of autonomy. He was carried to places he could not go by himself; lifted to heights when he wanted to see, but the parent did not attribute a strength to the child that he did not have. The child knew the difference between his strength and that of the parent. Children participated in the adult world as they chose and when they chose, learning by imitation when certain adult activities sparked their interest.

While adults were happier, anger and frustration were certainly not eliminated. In fact, Margaret Mead said that anger was still the dominant mood and was used effectively in the formation of the self concept. Babies were expected to cry hard when they wanted something, but the wants had to be "real", not artificial.[14] Rage was a tool to get what one wanted or to control another person. Tantrums were common and were ignored as long as the child was "in control" of his rage; when rage became uncontrollable, an adult or older child would step in to sooth or calm the child. "So the child learns that rage which it can control is good, will be respected, and often will get results, but that loss of control is something which others hasten to rescue it from."[15]

Thus, all action and learning was a "reciprocal interweaving between adult and child"[16], with the child continually testing his abilities and strengths within the adult world. These kinds of socialization patterns produced strong-willed, physically adept and self-confident children. "Alert defense of self, of one's position, one's autonomy, one's spontaneity is learned to the accompaniment of noisy anger."[17]

THE SCHOOL PERSPECTIVE: THE TEACHER AS A PRODUCT OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Early Schooling of the Teachers: Background Information

From this carefree, self-centered environment, a small child of approximately six years of age was sent to school. As birthdays were not calculated on Manus, the rule of thumb as to whether a child is old enough to attend school was whether or not he was able to extend his arm over the top of his head and grasp his ear on the other side. If he could, he was sent to school. Decisions concerning the education of children were not just a matter for the parents of a child, but for the relatives and for the Village Committee -- a village ruling body.

The acceptance of western-type schooling went through a type of evolutionary process. In 1928, villages sent only their most undesirable children to school, according to Margaret Mead. In the early days of the Evangelical Mission parents were induced to send their children to school by an economic reward -- a pig was given to families for each child enrolled in school. This reinforced the idea of "education" being a new form of long-term economic investment, much the same as planting coconut trees or buying a motor for one's canoe. The villagers and the Indigenous teachers believed that education would supplement village life -- not be in competition with it. In fact, this type of school was first established in accordance with the Community School dream of Groves, the first Director of Education. It was later that schools eliminated most of their "village bias" and taught mainly for the Standard 6 examination. A teacher from Peri, quoted by Margaret Mead, explains to the villagers his ideas concerning this new education.

> You and I realize that we are not yet equal to our
> new tasks,
> It is as if we were paddling very hard
> In making our village straight...
> This talk among you, fathers and mothers and children
> has been wrong.
> Now this talk must stop. It is wrong.
> As to the way to run a school, you do not understand
> well.
> But there are schools in the place of the white man.
> I have been there and I have seen them.
> They have schools for learning to write on paper, and
> work is done there, too.
> What do you think anyway! If in such a school only writing
> were taught
> And nothing else is taught,
> By and by they would be ignorant.
> They teach how to make canoes, how to make boats, how
> to catch fish.
> They teach them about everything. This is the way of a
> real school.[18]

Once parents were convinced that school was good and that an "educated" child would return more money to the family in the long run than the immediate losses they would incur from his absence in the village, they were "hooked" into that system. The government had also passed a regulation that once a child was enrolled in school, attendance was compulsory.

In accepting a formal educational pattern for their children, the parents unknowingly were giving up their traditional educational responsibilities for the western-educational pattern which they assumed would be good for them, for their children, and for the village. They were also unknowingly opting for an economy which would be based on the use of money, rather than on their traditional exchanges.

By 1970, school had become an accepted pattern for Indigenous children. Respondents were asked how many of their relatives had gone beyond elementary school to further training of some type. The average number of relatives of the Evangelical Mission respondents was 3.8. This is rather significant as any training beyond Standard 6 usually meant that the student would no longer be associated with village life. The Tables indicate something of the extent to which formal schooling was accepted by many villages which had produced the teachers.

TABLE 7

AVERAGE NUMBER AND SEX COMPOSITION OF RESPONDENTS' RELATIVES WHO ATTENDED SCHOOL BEYOND STANDARD 6 BY AGENCY

Average Number	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
Mean	3.8	2.6	2.2
Median	3	2	1
Sex Composition of Above Averages		Percentage	
Male	90.8	93.1	78.6
Female	9.2	6.9	21.4
NR*	(87)	(29)	(28)

* NR is used throughout this chapter to mean number of total responses. These do not necessarily equate with number of respondents, where an "N" will be used to differentiate.

The majority of the villagers had had no formal educational experience; however, lack of European-type schooling certainly did not mean lack of intelligence nor lack of some experiences in the wider Papua New Guinea setting. It was interesting to compare the number of languages spoken and the literacy level of the present Manus teacher with that of his parents. The parents were fluent in several Indigenous languages, one of which usually included Pidgin English -- but not English itself. Many of these parents could read and write "a little" in these languages, due to missionary translations of the Bible and of hymn books. However, Table 8 does show the one-generational progress made from parent to child; the respondent is competent in several more languages than his parents, including fluency in English.

One can also see that fathers are usually more fluent than the mothers, indicating the decreased opportunities available to women. Respondents indicated that they could "hear" (meaning understand) more languages than they could speak. When one adds this hearing component, an average of 2.2 more languages, the total languages which a teacher could speak and/or understand was 6.8. This high number of languages indicates a wide exposure to other peoples and cultures. The question on hearing was not answered by the other agencies.

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN AND WRITTEN BY INDIGENE TEACHERS AND THEIR PARENTS BY AGENCY

Agency	Number Teacher Speaks	Number Father Speaks	Number Mother Speaks	Number Teacher Writes	Number Father Writes	Number Mother Writes
Evangelical Mission						
Mean	4.6	2.7	2.3	3.3	.65	.22
Median	4	3	2	3	1	0
Administration						
Mean	4.2	2.6	2.6	3.4	1.4*	.55
Median	4	3	2	3	1	0
Catholic Mission						
Mean	4.6	3.5	2.8	3	.38	.08
Median	5	4	3	3	0	0

* A notation on one questionnaire indicated that the father and mother wrote only little bits of 4 and 3 languages. This number influenced the total; another person might have been more hesitant in stating that father or mother could write.

Though not lacking in intelligence or competence, the parents' lack of formal educational exposure meant that they had no basis on which to judge the educational experiences of their children nor the performance of a teacher. In any case, they had no legitimate right to intervene in the educational process. The helplessness of the parental position was illustrated by one of the older respondents. Following the war, the Administration was establishing its first school in the Manus District -- in Lundret Village. One day, a teacher came to his village and took the child away to school. Mistakenly, his father believed that his son was being taken away to another war, "...but he had to let me go." Thus, parents were caught in a three-way dilemma: the mutual desire of parent and child for the child to remain at home in the village; the desire of economic advancement through education, and the helplessness to resist schooling or to participate in the decision-making concerning it. Underlying all these difficulties was the assumption on most the villagers' part that "What is European must be good".

The most prevalent pattern of schooling on Manus was that set up by Groves, as Director of Education. A child would attend a village school for the first few years, usually four. This village school was run by the mission and taught by Indigenous teachers. Following the village school, some of the children would attend a centralized school at mission headquarters. This was a boarding school, taught by European missionaries and selected Indigenous teachers. These Indigenous teachers, all intelligent men and leaders in their villages, would have been good teachers in the traditional village setting where education was the preparation for village life and learning to master one's environment. However, the "village" emphasis, though stated, was lost in the attempt to provide schooling for many in the attempt to conform to "educational standards". Teaching became focused on English and on Math. These subjects, not fully mastered by the teachers themselves, were extremely difficult to teach; they could only imitate their own brief exposure to western education.

The teachers were attempting a difficult task -- one ideal for producing frustration -- in teachers and in their students. The students, pushed by relatives into the classroom, were confused or bored. This only added to the frustrations of the teacher. When a person cannot cope, it is likely that he will utilize force to maintain control. That he did is documented clearly by the respondents. Although the children probably did not understand the underlying reasons for the tensions, they were directly affected by its manifestations. Their attitudes towards school and their learning abilities were directly affected by these stresses.

Attitudes Toward Standards 1 to 6

Section II of the questionnaire dealt with the respondents' first experiences in school as children. This is highly subjective material, involving the child's perspective on what happened during those early years. As such, these feelings are very legitimate, even if the missionary or the teacher would view the same situation otherwise. Since a person's perceptions help to form his view of a certain world, these perceptions also form his view of the school and school work. A child's emotions are also instrumental in formulating his likes and dislikes in school. It was believed that these likes and dislikes affect his skill level in a particular subject. Respondents were asked to remember back to the first days of school. How did they feel? What kinds of things did they like or dislike? There were no pre-set categories for the responses, and the questions were open-ended. The categories were formed during the data analysis. Whenever possible, the points are illustrated by the actual words of the respondents, rather than by re-worded statements.

First Day of School: The respondent was asked to think back to the first day of school. What happened? How did he feel? The personal reactions ranged from positive feelings to active, forceful resistance. The responses from all three agencies were very similar.

Those children with positive feelings often had prior acquaintance of some type with a school: their older brothers and sisters had gone; they knew the teacher and liked him, or they identified with a European or with European ways and, therefore, wanted to read, write, or speak English. Some mentioned that they thought school would be fun -- an extension of their peer-centered play activities. These positive responses toward school were characterized by a choice on the student's part to go to school -- or not to go. The parents and/or teachers had been flexible and understanding, encouraging the child that "if you can't do it, you can come home again".

Those children with ambivalent feelings toward school were somewhat afraid of the unknown, yet curious as to what school was all about. They wanted to go to school because their friends were going; they were proud to have been selected to participate in this "new" experience. At the same time, they were uncertain and afraid. They made statements such as:

> "I didn't know what would happen to me. I had no idea about school."
>
> "I was shy and timid. I was very lonely. Nobody talked with me. I was too shy to answer questions."
>
> "I was afraid of a new situation. Father was kind. He said that school is important. You must go."

In a few more fortunate cases, good, kind or understanding teachers were reported among both Europeans and Indigenous teachers. However, this was rare, and the positive or ambivalent feelings toward school turned negative when they learned that school was not the happy place they had anticipated.

The majority of the respondents, however, reported that they did not want to go to school. These unwilling children seemed to be in two categories: those who did not want to go, but would do so to please someone and those who actively resisted going. In the first category were comments such as:

> "Life was very hard but we had to do what the committee ordered us to do."
>
> "I had to attend to please my teachers, the head master, and my parents."

Those children who actively resisted attending school were forced to go. In several cases, a teacher collected all the small ones each morning and marched them to school. Patrol officers, parents and other relatives also escorted young children to school, hitting them with sticks if they refused to go. Once in school, the vague fears were usually transformed into actual ones.

> "I didn't like being in school. I liked to stay with Mummy but my Uncle and Mummy hit me. They took me to and from school. After awhile I was accustomed to school life."
>
> "I was feeling afraid from the beginning when I listened to the teacher speak strangely and rough."
>
> "I didn't feel much goodness. I disliked school. I didn't know what was going on."

> "It was the first time the English language was spoken to me by the classroom teacher. I was wondering what he was talking about."

> "We were beaten by the teacher when we went against an order or we had to carry heavy stones as punishment."

Many children ran away from school, only to be beaten by relatives and returned. One teacher reported, "My parents wanted me to go to school very much. I didn't know what the future would be, but I was afraid of my father." Another respondent confirmed the extreme pressure from home.

> "Father was very mean...He told us if we were sent home... he would beat us until we were nearly dead. He would have too. He used a rubber from the fan of the boat engine. We were afraid not to do well. All my brothers and I worked hard and listened to what he said. Now all the people in the village they say that Bill's kids are the best -- they listened to their papa. My father tells them it was because of the rubber!"

The respondents spoke of crying and being afraid in school at first. They were afraid of the teachers and afraid of older children. They were homesick, sad, and shy, thinking only of playing with their friends in the village. Many mentioned being tired and hungry all the time. They felt that school was meaningless, and this lack of understanding seemed to result in aimless conformity or active rebellion on the child's part. Another respondent said, "I did things that everyone else did to be on the safe side."

Teachers Remembered Most: Respondents were asked what teacher they remembered most and why. Those teachers were usually remembered as being "good" or "bad" teachers. Of those mentioned as being good, 82 per cent were European missionaries and only 18 per cent were Indigenes. When asked why the person mentioned was a good teacher, the majority of the responses (43.8 per cent) mentioned factors relating to a teacher's attitude toward students -- a manner of handling children with courtesy, if not kindness. Good ways of disciplining, giving encouragement and praise, use of humor and fun, promoting good class attitudes toward working together, and being able to ask a question without the teacher getting angry were all qualities mentioned as being significant.

Another group of responses was related to the professional competence of the teacher (41.7 per cent). Highest among the items mentioned in this category was that the teacher "explained well". Good use of teaching-aids, extra help given to students, and the fact that a teacher seemed good in or enjoyed a particular subject were qualities listed frequently.

The smallest category (14.5 per cent) seemed to relate to specific incidents that a student remembered which affected his positive evaluation of a teacher. Some of these were: being invited to a teacher's house, being given candy, or having clothes mended. All of these specific incidents seem to be tangible, but unspoken, evidence of a teacher's positive attitude toward his students -- a feeling which was then reciprocated by the student toward the teacher.

The contrast between the good teacher and the bad teacher was extreme. Of the thirty-two specific characteristics mentioned as evidence of bad teaching, most seemed to fall into two major categories: lack of professional skills (31.3 per cent) and cruel and/or inconsistent punishment (68.8 per cent).

Highest on the lack of professional skills list was the complaint that the teacher's explanations were not good -- or that they would not answer questions. This complaint paralleled the highest item on the good teacher list -- that he could "explain well". Several people mentioned that the teacher did not understand or know his subject matter -- certainly a logical reason for refusing to explain. Many said the teachers had "favorites", often his relatives or villagers (wantoks) or that he was too lazy to do his job properly.

Cruel punishment was heavily emphasized as evidence of bad teaching by almost all those interviewed. Many mentioned that the teachers would hit them -- for no reason or for small mistakes in recitation. Some teachers threw rulers or coconuts at children, hit them with bamboo sticks until they bled or forced them to carry heavy stones or bags of sand from one place to another. Several mentioned a favorite technique of one teacher. When a student made a mistake, he had to stand on his desk until another turn came. Another failure required his climbing on a projecting log or window sill of the school room. Every further mistake meant climbing higher until the child was hanging from the ceiling by his hands. When he could no longer hang on, he dropped to the floor, exhausted, but presumably "ready" to now give correct answers. There is considerable evidence that these punishment stories were not exaggerated, but were a fairly regular procedure in the village schools.

The contrast between school learning and the previous learning of the child within his natural environment and as part of his socialization for village life is great. Previously no pressure was exerted before the child was ready to learn, and punishment was used only under great duress. It was not an every day fact of life. One could speculate that these erratic and unreasonable punishment patterns were indicative of stress produced by expectations of performance beyond the level of the teacher's ability. One interviewee commented that when the Administration introduced rules concerning punishment, the teachers changed. "Teachers changed more with education and partly because of the rules. The teachers were afraid of what will happen to them."

Not all of those teachers mentioned as being bad were Indigenes. It was reported that some European teachers had not wanted the children to wear shoes and trousers; had hit students when they got their "tables" wrong -- then rewarded them with "lollies" (candy); had chased students out of the classroom, or knew a "sure way of disciplining". The relationship between student and teacher came up in many parts of the questionnaire. There was a re-occuring feeling expressed that European teachers did not understand their students. One teacher remarked, "Europeans think they know a better way without knowing the old way. Europeans are educated but they don't understand us -- don't understand how we think and about our different levels of understanding. Some subjects we find very difficult, but they don't understand it."

On the other hand, not all good teachers were European. Many Indigenes were mentioned for their kindness and their understanding. The same person quoted above also felt that "Indigenes can understand native children better. They understand the mental thoughts and abilities of the children."

What is significant, it seems, is not the racial lines drawn in explaining the qualities of good and bad teachers, but the underlying attitudes which those teachers held toward their students. Students liked those teachers who treated them with kindness and understanding and were willing to work hard for their approval. It does seem significant that the students mentioned discipline and hard work as being essential to being a good teacher. "Good explanations" was mentioned many times by respondents as an indicator of a good teacher. In fact, a European teacher in the High School in Lorengau commented that the students would reprimand a teacher when they thought he was wasting their time or when they felt they were not learning enough -- an attitude many western teachers would like to promote.

Being Happy: Respondents were asked to remember a time when they had been very happy in school. The happiest times, according to the Evangelical Mission teachers' responses, were those related to achievement in school (41.7 per cent). The achievement category involved those who mentioned praise for doing good work, getting a prize for the highest grade in class, or passing the Standard 6 examination. No one mentioned being happy just to be learning, nor did they mention enjoyment in relation to classroom learning. Achievement was always mentioned in relation to an outside evaluation of himself, to a test or a teacher's praise.

TABLE 9

RESPONDENTS' MEMORY OF BEING HAPPY AT SCHOOL DURING HIS CHILDHOOD BY AGENCY

Type of Happy Time	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Special Event	33.3	9.1	50.0
Re-occurring Event	16.7	18.2	20.0
Achievement in School	41.7	54.5	25.0
Never	8.3	18.2	5.0
NR	(24)	(11)	(20)

The next highest percentage of responses involved a special event that was particularly significant to the student -- a field trip, a sing sing (festival) or a special picnic. One respondent reported that the missionary teacher had taken the whole class to the Lombrum Naval Base. "It was a great privilege. We looked through a telescope. It was the first time there for us. We had questions to ask about it and discussed it later. We were very excited to be able to go." Another reported a "sing sing" when the new dormitories were finished. "The class gathered wood; the missionary killed a pig for the feast. The boys thought that the teacher must not be so bad after all if he would kill a pig." The significance of these kinds of learning experiences are crucial and will be discussed later.

The next highest category mentioned (16.7 per cent) was some re-occurring event to which the children looked forward with anticipation -- the occasional movie shown at the school or special times just for singing.

In the responses given by Administration teachers, achievement in school was noted in 54.5 per cent of the cases. In the Catholic Mission, a special event was highest (50 per cent), although achievement in school was the next highest category (25 per cent). In each agency, a few people reported that they never remember being happy.

Being Afraid: Respondents were asked to remember a time when they had been afraid in school. In spite of the usually happy dispositions of the children, they lived with many fears. The fear of teachers and punishment was most often mentioned (38.5 per cent). This fear was usually related to being punished for not doing well in the classroom. Fear of the teacher was highest in all three agencies (72.7 per cent for the Administration teachers and 53.3 per cent for the Catholic Mission teachers). Students remembered being almost continually aware of the possibility of a teacher's anger. While this author would argue that fear does not produce good learning, it certainly can produce "trying" and anxiety. "The teachers also gave punishment for being late. They were hard on us and we tried to work hard so they wouldn't be angry."

Fear of failing examination, especially the Standard 6 examination, was mentioned in 26.9 per cent of the responses from the Evangelical Mission teachers, but did not appear as significant to the Administration teachers (9.1 per cent). There were no responses from the Catholic Mission teachers in this category.

TABLE 10

TEACHERS' MEMORY OF BEING AFRAID AT SCHOOL DURING CHILDHOOD BY AGENCY

Type of Fear	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Teacher; Punishment	38.5	72.7	53.3
Examinations; Fear of Failure	26.9	9.1	----
Spirits, Masalai	23.1	9.1	13.3
Other People: Students, Villagers Doctors	7.7	9.1	6.7
Personal Fears; not especially related to school	3.8	----	20.0
No Answer	----	----	6.7
NR	(26)	(11)	(15)

Fear of spirits (ghosts of dead people) or masalai (supernatural beings that can either harm or help a person) was mentioned quite often: (23.1 per cent of the Evangelical Mission teachers' responses; 9.1 per cent of the Administration teachers' responses, and 13.3 per cent of the Catholic Mission teachers' responses). Being afraid of spirits or masalai was not accepted as legitimate by Europeans. They would either laugh at the children or scold them for being so ridiculous or stupid as to be afraid of what was not true. One girl reported:

> "We were afraid of the Japanese spirits. The Japanese people killed during the war were buried next to the girls' dorm. Their spirits would come out at night. A girl would shout and then every girl would be screaming. (The European woman teacher) would come and say, 'Don't be silly, Don't think about it. Go to bed.' and she would be cross with us. We were still afraid, but had to go to bed."

The belief in the spirit was real; the teacher's scorn only taught the children not to discuss the existence of these "beings" with a European, especially a missionary. Most of the respondents, now the present teachers, admitted to still believing in spirits when they were questioned by a person who has no "stake" in their believing or not-believing.

Another category of fear was "other people" -- fellow classmates, unfriendly villagers or medical doctors ! From the Catholic Mission teachers, 20 per cent of the responses listed a variety of personal reasons, not related to the above categories. While 6.7 per cent of the Catholic teachers did not answer this question, not one respondent in any agency said that there were no times when he had not been afraid.

Being Angry or Sad: The respondents were asked if they remembered being angry or sad in school. Of the Evangelical Mission teachers' responses, the highest percentage involved being upset with fellow students (44.0 per cent); with teachers or the school (28 per cent), and with personal problems, not necessarily involving the school,(16.0 per cent). Twelve per cent said they could never remember either being angry or sad. However, in every case of Evangelical Mission teachers, this was claimed by a teacher who was unhappy with the Mission and who was considering changing to an Administration teaching position. One could question the validity of this finding.

TABLE 11

TEACHERS' MEMORY OF BEING ANGRY OR SAD AT SCHOOL DURING CHILDHOOD BY AGENCY

Reason	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Relationship with Fellow Students	44.0	29.4	18.8
Relationship with Teacher; School	28.0	47.1	43.8
Personal Problems	16.0	11.8	25.0
No times	12.0	11.8	12.5
NR	(25)	(17)	(16)

Being angry or sad concerning the relationships between students and teachers was among the highest percentages of responses of the Administration teachers, while being upset with teachers and with personal problems were highest of the Catholic Mission teachers' responses. It is difficult to interpret the reasons for these differences. Perhaps they can only be regarded as a general indication of those things which are uppermost in their memory. The responses, especially of the Evangelical Mission teachers, were based on specific incidences -- not just general feelings. These incidents which were reported involved feelings of unjust treatment or helplessness on the part of the respondent. Some respondents reported that fellow students had refused to take unjust punishment from teachers, had left school, and returned to their villages. Those that remained must have had a stronger desire to continue their education at any cost, had greater pressure from relatives to remain in school, or perhaps some could tolerate higher degrees of frustration than others. Whether the ones who remained in school were actually better off is an interesting question for speculation.

Happy or Sad to Return to School: The last question of this type was a general summary question: How did you feel about returning to school after being home for a holiday? A majority (60.9 per cent) reported that they were happy to return -- or at least not overly sad. The responses from the Administration teachers were similar, but only 22.2 per cent of the Catholic Mission respondents reported they were happy to return to school. Many of these respondents mentioned that they were anxious to get back to their studies, wanted to return to school friends, or wanted to escape from duties in the village.

TABLE 12

TEACHERS' MEMORY OF FEELINGS ABOUT RETURNING TO SCHOOL AFTER A HOLIDAY DURING CHILDHOOD BY AGENCY

Feeling	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Happy	60.9	54.5	22.2
Sad	39.1	36.4	61.5
No Answer	----	9.1	7.7
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

This finding seems strange when one considers the fears and frustrations which the children experienced in school. However, the respondents who mentioned being sad also mentioned another factor that seems explanatory here.

Of the respondents, 39.1 per cent said they were sad to leave the village, but many of these said they were sad only for awhile, then they would become happy again. One respondent said that he and his friends were "sad when we'd leave our parents but when we were in the sea again, we'd sing some songs and forget our village. Friends who worked and played together went to school with us and we had good times."

The presence of one's friends seemed especially important in determining happiness or sadness and mitigated the pangs of leaving one's parents and relatives. They indicated that they were accustomed to doing things -- playing or working -- as a cohort. This finding corresponds with Margaret Mead's findings about the strong peer group orientation of the young children of Peri. This same peer group bond continues to exist even at the adult level when adults of the same sex work and play together more often than across sex lines. This bond is especially evident in the capital of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, where many Manus people have migrated for work or for higher education. They have organized a Manus club which functions to incorporate recent Manus people who have moved to Port Moresby, helping them adjust to their new environment.

Respondents also mentioned that when they were in the earlier grades they were extremely sad to leave home, but as they became older, they looked forward to returning to school. Many mentioned that they realized then how important school was, that they wanted to learn, and that they wanted to be away from the village. One respondent reported that as he became used to school, his "feelings about home and school changed places". This is particularly significant when one remembers the feelings of fear expressed earlier. Since fear of the teacher and fear of failing examinations was particularly high, the fear can be seen as a lasting one -- more significant than mere anxiety about separation from home and family.

This process of "feelings changing places" can be seen as the beginning of a student's internalization of western-oriented norms and expectations in exchange for the village ones. It seems that as a child progresses to higher levels of schooling, the times of parting from the village become easier and the student more anxious to return to the school environment. To a certain degree, this is a normal expectation in any culture as the child matures and gains more independence from the home. However, if there is a definite differentiation between the home and the school environments, expectations, values and goals, the child will continually be pulled between the two conflicting value groups. The more successful he is in the western-oriented group, the more difficult will be his adaptation back to the village life. These findings seem to indicate that the internalization of western criterion for success is begun very early in a child's educational process, thereby setting up internal conflicts between village life and school life; village values and school values.

Subjects Liked Most: Respondents were asked what subject they had liked most in school and why. The subject that the Evangelical Mission respondents liked most was English (53.3 per cent). Following that came Math (26.7 per cent) and Social Studies (16.7 per cent). In teacher responses in all three agencies, English was the highest in preference.

TABLE 13

TEACHERS' MEMORY OF SUBJECTS LIKED DURING CHILDHOOD BY AGENCY

Subject Liked	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
English	53.3	61.5	46.2
Math	26.7	23.1	23.1
Social Studies	16.7	7.7	23.1
Science	3.3	----	----
Music	----	----	7.6
Art	----	7.7	----
NR	(30)	(13)	(13)

The reasons for liking a subject were far more significant than the data concerning what specific subject was liked most. The reasons for liking a subject were grouped so that one could determine what factors were involved. The main categories that emerged were identification with Europeans, being good in a subject, seeing an opportunity to do something one desires through skill in a particular subject, and perceiving relevance to one's life. Liking a subject seemed to be positively associated with the above categories.

When a teacher was mentioned as the reason for liking a subject, which was seldom, the manner in which the teacher motivated a child was always positive, rather than negative. Examples of this are the following statements:

> "Levi encouraged us."
>
> "I had a teacher that was good in the subject."
>
> "Mr. Smith made us so interested in this subject that I began to like it."

Never did a person mention that he liked a subject because he was forced to or because he was afraid not to. Some mentioned that they had to work hard, but hard work in a subject that they enjoyed was not seen as negative. The ability to cope with the subject matter or a high motivation to learn a particular subject were both factors in their enjoyment of it.

The high percentage of people reporting that they liked English can be explained as a combination of reasons. The desire to learn English with the desire to associate with and to understand Europeans. For example, typical statements were:

> "It's a new language. My people can't speak and can't 'hear' English. It was my chance to learn."
>
> "When I heard other people having conversation with Europeans, I thought it was nice to 'hear' this converse without trouble. Many local people did not have much cooperation with Europeans because they were too frightened to talk because of the language they speak."
>
> "I thought I would be able to write to white people and to read many books about the outside world."

Since Europeans controlled the avenue to higher education and therefore to success, it was expedient to learn the language. Respondents realized that book knowledge was available only through English. In addition, English was one subject usually taught by Europeans. Their obvious qualifications in that subject, as compared with an Indigenous teacher, created a teaching situation which lacked many of the stresses which were involved when a teacher attempted to cope with subject matter which he had not mastered. Therefore, explanations were clearer. Learning was easier and less stressful, and enjoyment came with success.

Subjects Least Liked: The subjects which the respondents least liked were a little more diverse than subjects most liked. However, Math topped the list in the teachers' responses in all three agencies (Evangelical Mission teachers 33.3 per cent, Administration teachers 26.1 per cent, and the Catholic Mission teachers 50 per cent). From there, dislikes became more individualistic for each agency.

The main reasons given for not liking a subject centered around not being able to understand the subject. This involved a lot of self-criticism such as "I couldn't think fast enough", or "I have no skills", or "It is hard for me", or "I am no good". The second largest group of reasons centered around the teacher, blaming him for their failure. Reasons were given such as:

> "I wasn't taught well. I didn't understand. Maybe we all don't like what we don't understand."

> "No one really made me see it. It meant nothing to me. My failure added to my hatred."

> "We learnt English and if any sentence is used with wrong tenses or grammar, the teacher hit us."

> "A bad teacher took me for maths. That is why I hate him. I could have been good in maths if it were not for that teacher. He taught me two years."

Others pointed out that they had no background on which to build new concepts or that they were bored, doing over and over again things that had no meaning. This was especially true in subjects like grammar, geography and art.

TABLE 14

TEACHERS' MEMORY OF SUBJECTS LEAST LIKED DURING CHILDHOOD BY AGENCY

Subject Least Liked	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
English	9.5	----	28.6
Math	33.3	46.1	50.0
Social Studies	9.5	23.1	7.2
Science	23.8	----	7.2
Music	----	7.7	----
Art	23.8	15.4	7.2
Bible	----	7.7	----
NR	(21)	(13)	(14)

It seems that the reasons for not liking a subject actually were the reverse of the reasons for liking one -- whether the student was good or not good in it; whether there was a good or bad teacher; whether or not there was strong motivation to learn, and whether or not there was an obvious relevancy to real life.

If one can assume that more learning takes place when one is enjoying the subject than when one is hating it, then the typical "learning" situations need to be re-examined. There is an obvious distinction made between learning in the classroom and work-play situations outside. Learning meant books, paper, pencils, sitting at desks, and pain. Yet, when asked what they enjoyed doing outside the classroom, there was an enthusiastic response which did not separate work from play. They enjoyed working in gardens, hunting for food, and doing homework as much as they enjoyed the purely physical sports such as soccer and basketball.

The only duty which was very distasteful to most was grass-cutting, a task which involved early morning and late afternoon sessions daily, swinging a sharpened piece of metal similar to a scythe. The children, though supervised, basically looked out for themselves at boarding school; they prepared their own meals, cleaned their rooms and washed their clothes. One complaint of the educators is that when a child returns to his village, he does not apply much, if any, of what he has learned in school. It is likely that the school learning versus the work-play distinctions begun in the school will continue to remain, since the two were never integrated. Books have little relevance to their daily life, and often had unpleasant associations.

If, however, learning could be related to the work-play situations which the children enjoy, learning would have a carry-over effect to village life.

In a boarding school, there are many exciting opportunities for this type of learning. The school could use the environment as its laboratory, rather than be separate from it. They could use the local people as resources just as effectively as using a book. In everyday activities, cooking, sewing, cutting wood, etc., many related skills can also be taught -- not only by the teacher, but by the students. Even in activities, such as basket weaving, beating the drums, and story-telling, there are many other types of learning which could take place simultaneously. It is in these kinds of learning situations that cooperation, teamsmanship, tolerance and racial understandings are promoted. This type of learning would build on the present patterns of group cooperation and peercenteredness, rather than emphasize learnings that promote competitiveness that is necessary to "come to the top of the class".

Things Not Liked About Elementary Grades: When asked the question, "Is there anything about Standards 1 through 6 that you would have liked to be different?" most teachers did not quite comprehend. This was probably due to the awkward wording of the question and the lack of a similar language construction in the Indigenous languages or in Pidgin English. Manus people only have words for the present tense, adding "pinis" (finish) to indicate past tense. One could suspect also that the Indigene has never been encouraged to question the status quo. There is a subtle expectation that he must be grateful for what is -- not what could have been. One teacher felt that no criticism should be leveled at the school because he was so insignificant and could only be grateful for the education which the mission provided. He said, "I felt that I'm 'samting nating' to be educated." (Samting nating is translated as "a nobody".) Another said, "I was happy with everything then. I hadn't seen any of these things before -- books, pencils, slates, chalk. Now that school wouldn't be so good. But that was a long time ago -- at first."

Nevertheless, when the question was reworded to, "What didn't you like about these standards?", it yielded more specific answers. There still remained a degree of ambiguity, especially in the self-administered schedules.

TABLE 15

TEACHERS' MEMORY CONCERNING THINGS NOT LIKED ABOUT ELEMENTARY GRADES BY AGENCY

Things Not Liked	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Not Enough Physical Facilities; materials	19.5	43.5	25.0
Extra-curricular Duties, Regulations	17.1	8.7	16.7
Teachers: Training, Methods, System	34.1	4.3	----
Not Enough Food	19.5	13.0	----
Curriculum	----	17.5	25.0
No Answer, Can't Think	9.8	13.0	33.3
NR	(41)	(23)	(12)

The Evangelical Mission respondents indicated the most dissatisfaction with their teachers (34.1 per cent). The criticisms were much the same type as discussed in the previous section on teachers. Punishment, poor teaching methods and the teachers' lack of understanding were all included. Many felt that the school buildings and the educational materials were also very inadequate (19.5 per cent). This was obviously true as the mission was using army surplus huts for classrooms at that time or huts built in the villages. Buildings were also an obvious item to mention; they can be observed and criticized more easily than intangible items such as curriculum. One item seemed significant to the Evangelical teachers; 19.5 per cent of the responses indicated that the food was inadequate. Thirteen per cent of the Administration responses were the same. This point is interesting as it re-appears in many questions, and it will be discussed later.

A Comparison With the Present: Following several questions on school life, the respondents were asked to compare the present schools with their own. They were asked, "Are things different in the school now than when you were there?" The answers were overwhelmingly positive in their comparisons: 45.7 per cent of the Evangelical teachers' answers mentioned improved physical facilities and educational materials; 28.6 per cent mentioned that teachers and teaching had greatly improved as well as the overall educational system. The Administration and Catholic Mission teachers' responses indicated that they felt the improvement in teachers even more strongly (40.6 per cent and 45.8 per cent respectively). Again, physical facilities were often mentioned as being greatly improved (Administration teachers' responses 50.0 per cent, and Catholic Mission teachers' responses 25.0 per cent). Though it does not show up statistically, teachers in all three agencies again mentioned that, in spite of the great improvements educationally, food was still inadequate.

TABLE 16

TEACHERS' OPINION OF THINGS WHICH ARE DIFFERENT IN SCHOOL NOW AS COMPARED TO TEACHERS' SCHOOLS BY AGENCY

Things Different Now	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Physical Facilities; Educational Materials	45.7	50.0	25.0
Extra-Curricular Duties, Regulations	5.7	9.4	16.7
Teachers: Training, Methods, System	28.6	40.6	45.8
Curriculum	20.0	----	4.2
No Answer	----	----	8.3
NR	(70)	(32)	(24)

Want Children To Attend Same School: When asked if they would be happy to have their own children go to the same school which they had attended, the positive response of the Evangelical Mission teachers was surprisingly high (91.3 per cent). Teachers in the other agencies were a bit more cautious: 53.8 per cent of the teachers in the Catholic Mission said yes and a majority of the Administration responses were negative (54.6 per cent).

There may be several factors which influence this high percentage of positive responses from the Evangelical Mission teachers. Table 15 indicated the high degree of dissatisfaction concerning their elementary grades, where poor teachers and inadequate physical facilities were their greatest concerns. Table 16 indicated the greatest degree of improvement as being made in the same two areas. The majority of the teachers seemed to be thinking of the improvements already made in the schools.

TABLE 17

TEACHERS' OPINION OF WHETHER THEY WOULD BE HAPPY TO HAVE THEIR OWN CHILDREN GO TO SAME SCHOOL BY AGENCY

Answer	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Yes	91.3	45.4	53.8
No	8.7	54.6	22.2
No Answer	----	----	15.3
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

One older teacher said, "Everything is different now. There is no way to compare the two schools. Better buildings, teachers, teaching methods, materials, rules." It is difficult also for young teachers, who have had little experience, to make comparative-type judgements, especially when they have seen nothing else. Another factor is that the respondents were no longer outside critics of the system; they were a part of it now as teachers.

However, the same man previously quoted felt that the school had much room for continued improvement. In declaring that he still would not want his children to attend the main mission school, he said, "I think the good schools come yet behind." However, he had no choice.

The Dilemma of the Standard 6 Leaver

At the end of the elementary schooling, students are chosen to go to high school by the results of the Standard 6 examination. The Standard 6 Leaver, the official name for the "failure", must return to the village or seek alternate routes of education or training. The difficulties in this selection were discussed earlier, but what is relevant here is the belief that the Standard 6 examination creates an artificial distinction between children, dividing them into failures and successes on the basis of a few percentage points. This crucial decision has lasting psychological, social and economic impact upon a child, his family and village, and eventually on Papua New Guinea as a whole.

The contrast between the "successes" and the "failures" of the system is great. The respondents reported that they were excited and proud to be one of the few selected for further education. They also mentioned being apprehensive about the future, being lonely or being frightened of possible sorcery in a strange, new environment. It took a few several months to adjust to their new situation. Although some parents were worried about paying the school fees or were sad to part with their child, the pride and happiness they felt was very evident. The children's successes added to the parents' prestige in the village, and later to their economic status. One respondent told about his father's reaction:

> "I was the first boy in the village to go to High School. Father was really proud. He tried to give me anything I asked. He said he would pay me fees because he worked (at a paid job). He asked the date of my return and asked Europeans if I could come back on the boat. He was a spendthrift. He did everything for me."

In contrast, the respondents were asked how their friends felt who were not selected to go on for further training. The majority reported that their friends were very sad and often cried. They were ashamed and shy, wanting to speak with the respondents, but hesitated, feeling a "big difference" between themselves and the respondents. One day they were inseparable friends; the next, a barrier had already been created. One respondent said his friend knew "he has missed his chance"; his future "go long nowhere".

TABLE 18

TEACHERS' PERCEPTION AS TO WHETHER THE STANDARD 6 LEAVER HAS PROBLEMS IN THE VILLAGE BY AGENCY

Response	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Yes	78.3	90.9	92.3
No	17.4	----	----
No Answer	4.3	9.1	7.7
N	(23)	(11)	(13)
Problems			
Feelings of Failure; Sadness	15.8	7.1	6.3
Won't Listen to Parents; Causes Trouble	23.7	7.1	31.3
Too Young to Find Job	28.9	42.9	18.8
Bored;Rejects Village;Seeks Town	23.7	7.1	----
Does Not Fit in Village	2.6	28.6	43.8
Parents Angry With Him	5.3	7.1	----
NR	(38)	(14)	(16)

When asked if the Standard 6 Leavers have any re-adjustment problems now in the village, there was a uniformly high affirmative response from teachers of all agencies (Evangelical Mission teachers 78.3 per cent; Administration teachers 90.9 per cent, and the Catholic Mission teachers 92.3 per cent).

A variety of re-adjustment problems were discussed by the respondents. Upon examination, there seems to be an interactive cycle of cause and effect which is set up by the "failure" label.

1. The child has feelings of failure, sadness, as 15.8 per cent of the responses indicated.

> "The child is shy, ashamed. He thought he was different and now he is ashamed to go home."
>
> "He feels very sad that he has failed his parents."

2. The parents are disappointed and angry (5.3 per cent). While this is a relatively small percentage, other questions dealing with the Standard 6 Leaver also indicated that anger and rejection are common among parents.

> "Parents are unhappy first, but it is O.K. later and they accept the child back."
>
> "Parents are angry. They say, 'We've spent money for nothing. We're not happy'."

At times, the children were punished by their parents, and a few even went so far as to cut their child "with knives and razor blades".

3. The child will not listen to parents and causes trouble (23.7 per cent). The few years of education give him reason to feel superior

to his parents and he will not accept their advice or commands.

> "They don't want to help parents. They think they are smarter than parents because they have been to school. Parents ask, 'What did they teach you at that school -- or is this your own idea?'".

The child is defiant, and refuses to participate in village work or activities.

> "He has difficulties with fighting and land problems. He's usually in the middle. He looks for girls only isn't interested in any work."

Some children only become more difficult to handle; others resort to vandalism. One respondent felt that "The councillor will have to help discipline -- if he does much damage at home."

4. The child does not fit in the village any more (5.3 per cent). Being away at school, the child has not learned many of the village customs and skills. He tends to believe that only educated people have worthwhile lives, failing to see the value of the traditional way of life. He refuses to participate in many customary village activities or, because of his behavior, is refused the opportunity to do so. He wants things that money can buy, but there is little money in the village.

5. The child is bored, restless, and rejects village life even more (23.7 per cent). Many responses indicated his aimless wandering and listless activities.

> "He thinks only of town -- doesn't like to stay long time in village."

> "They walk to Lorengau many times."

6. However, the child is too young to find a job (28.9 per cent). At 13 or 14 years of age, he is too young to get a job in town -- and too unskilled.

The cycle is complete, and the child is trapped inside. He does not want to live at home; he cannot live in town. His total school socialization from the early years has been oriented toward passing the Standard 6 examination and to the obvious rewards that education brings. Failure has closed that route. Previously, the educational system would allow a child to repeat a grade or to transfer to another high school where the requirements were not so high or their quota had not been filled. In the last few years, these alternate routes of education are also being denied in order to economize in the educational budget, as well as to provide equal educational opportunities for other districts in Papua New Guinea. In addition, the educational qualifications of the Standard 6 Leaver, which were once enough for training in a clerk-type job, for a policeman, or for a medical trainee, are no longer adequate. At least Form 1 or Form 2 is now required for most job applicants.

The other possibility, which the local educators encourage, is to attend one of the three vocational schools on Manus. None of these has been very popular with the parents, and the schools have had difficulty keeping their enrollment. Respondents were asked why Manus Evangelical parents seemed reluctant to send their child to vocational school for one year. The answers were as follows:

1. The child is too young to do heavy work (9.9 per cent)
2. The child can't get a job with vocational training (39.9 per cent)
3. It is not as good as going to high school (9.9 per cent)
4. The school is no good; it is worthless education (32.3 per cent)
5. The child is too young to go to school with little or no supervision (9.9 per cent)
6. There were many specific criticisms of school practices (6.5 per cent)

The few responses from the other agencies roughly correlated with the above; however, as many did not answer the question, the results were not complete.

The vocational schools on Manus are not providing an education which the village people believe will help them or their children. Parents feel that vocational schools are not economically worthwhile; they are critical of the curriculum and of many of the school's policies and practices. It is logical that they refuse to pay for another educational process which they view as "keeping the child busy" for another year. Standard 6 Leavers are expected to return home where the parents will "keep the failure at home to get some use out of him -- no use spending more money !"

Summary: Areas of Conflict Between Village and School Perspectives

In western society, the process of socialization is fairly continuous from the home to the school. The language, values, and belief systems are basically similar -- even if there are some minor deviations. The fit is never perfect even in western society. However, the Manus teacher lived in a dual culture: the village and the European world. There was little integration of the two roles. What integration was done was accomplished by the Indigenous people themselves, as most Europeans have little more than a superficial knowledge of the people. They remain basically ignorant of the cultural beliefs, fears, or feelings of the Indigenes with whom they work. Therefore, any knowledgeable or deliberate attempt to integrate the two worlds is missing. Education is seen as that process of "coming to a superior knowledge", a giving up of village ways, values, and beliefs for European ones. This process is certainly one-sided.

Socialization Patterns Conflict: The child was first socialized by village parents who were still oriented almost completely to village life. Children became strong-willed, physically adept, and self-confident. Anger was a legitimate outlet for frustration or a tool for manipulation. This independence of body and spirit was learned by participating in all aspects of village life as the child chose, by imitative play and work in natural, unrushed, and real situations. Children were continually pushed to do their best, to test themselves, but encouragement and praise, not shame, were the motivating forces. Verbal and listening skills were important for village functioning as well as for enjoyment. The child developed a strong sense of community as he worked and played with peers and adults. This is not to imply a village utopia, nor does it imply that villagers had superior control of their emotions. It does show that learning was definitely the acquisition of skills and knowledge necessary for the maintenance of village life. The one major difference between socialization patterns of the Manus teacher and those of his ancestors was the incorporation of western-schooling as an avenue to economic success.

At six, the children were sent to a school whose curriculum and emphasis was totally divorced from village life. The child began a process of re-socialization. There was a new language and a new set of values, beliefs, and expectations. Individualistic success replaced peer-group success. There was little physical outlet for their energies, and they learned not by doing, but by sitting, by repeating what to them were nonsense syllables. The motivation for learning was fear of the teacher, who seldom used encouragement or praise, but physical punishment, harsh words or ridicule, or fear of the parent and relatives. Expression of anger, a fairly predictable outcome of re-socialization, was no longer legitimate, and children were expected to be submissive and obedient, to conform to school expectations, not only in actions, but in beliefs as well. Curriculum decisions were based on what a child would need to know to continue his education in high school or to obtain a job in the civil service. English and Math were the basic subjects taught.

Internalization of European Values: Despite these negative aspects of school, most of the children continued to attend and began to prefer school to the village. High expectations that schooling would result in a better life helped the student to endure or to accept the present as the price for the future. Because of the high expectations, motivation to learn was high; there was also extreme pressure from relatives for the child to succeed in school. Early in the school years, children began to internalize the new goals. English was their favorite subject, in spite of the fact that they felt it to be the most difficult subject to learn. Their happiest times were when they were praised or rewarded for doing well in school; their biggest fears were of the teachers or fear of failing in examinations. The re-socialization was very effective, and children soon preferred to be in school than at home in the village.

In the earlier years of western schooling on Manus, these high expectations were fulfilled. Almost as many as went on for further education were able to obtain jobs and thereby were "successful". However, fewer opportunities became available as more students graduated. Requirements for jobs are becoming more restrictive. In the future, Manus opportunities will continue to decline as other districts are given equal opportunities. Therefore, the previous high expectations cannot continue to be realized for many of the students. While they have internalized the values of western society regarding education and its outcome, their opportunity to continue in school is denied. Because of school, they no longer want to, nor perhaps are able to, function in a village setting. Their frustration, self-depreciation, and anger are directed against themselves, their relatives, and their village.

Therefore, re-socialization in western roles in many aspects has been disfunctional for the students. Learning, especially for those who cannot continue their education, has been irrelevant to the lives they must lead in the village. Students have internalized goals which were not attainable. They have placed low value on attainable goals, i.e. vocational school. The frustration and anger of unattainable goals is directed against themselves first, since anger is no longer permissible -- especially against those in authority. Energies which could have been utilized for production in the village, have become a destructive force instead.

It would seem that Margaret Mead's theory of latent deviance is very applicable to Manus youth still. To summarize, Margaret Mead believed that an irreconcilable conflict between expectations in the roles of the youth and of the adult would produce a "latent deviance", a driving discontent with things as they are. However, this latent deviance only becomes active when there is change in the external circumstances or when people see the possibility of change. The early socialization patterns of Manus parents produced highly self-confident, physically and mentally adept young people who were also highly motivated to be successful. Education was that avenue of success. When there were also parallel opportunities for the realization of success, little or no latent deviance was produced. The educational system was seen as functioning smoothly. Discrepancies in the socialization patterns were insignificant in terms of over-all rewards.

However, when the high expectations are still present, yet there are few avenues for the realization of these goals, one could assume that again "latent deviance" will be a by-product of the dual-socialization process. As long as there are no alternatives and there is no opportunity to produce change in the controlling circumstances, conformity will also exist -- even if it is again the sullen conformity that Margaret Mead saw in 1928. But, when there is a change in the external conditions, latent deviance or discontent can be expected to become an active force for change. The coming of self-government and/or independence for Papua New Guinea could be one such change.

THE CAREER PERSPECTIVE: THE TEACHER AS A PRODUCER OF EDUCATED CITIZENS

Who is He? : General Demographic Data

This section will briefly describe the socio-economic background of the Manus Evangelical teacher and give comparative data concerning teachers from the Administration and the Catholic Mission agencies.

Age and Teaching Experience: The average Manus Evangelical teacher is young; the median age is 22.9 years, but he already has approximately 5.4 years of teaching experience. The Administration and Catholic Mission teachers were older and had more teaching experience, yet they also began teaching at a young age, approximately 19.

TABLE 19

AVERAGE AGE OF INDIGENOUS TEACHERS BY AGENCY

Age	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
Mean	22.9	30.1	28
Median	22	30	27

Therefore, a small child from a village setting goes to school for eight or nine years, about four years of that time he is away from the village. From there, he has two years training for teaching, again in another part of Papua New Guinea and in a European-like atmosphere. Following these years of training, he is sent back usually to a village setting to teach a European-based curriculum.

TABLE 20

AVERAGE YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE
OF INDIGENOUS TEACHERS
BY AGENCY

Years Experience	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
Mean	5.4	11	8.7
Median	6	11	8

Proportion of Male and Female Teachers: Papua New Guinea school administrators have been trying to keep the sexes fairly evenly balanced in high school entrance figures -- even to the point of lowering entrance standards for girls. In spite of this, 60.9 per cent of Manus Evangelical teachers are male, while 39.1 per cent are female. Comparatively, the chart shows 100 per cent of the Administration and Catholic Mission teachers were male. These figures, however, are not representative of teacher sex composition in general, but of the percentage of the head teachers who were male.

It was possible, however, to very roughly calculate the number of male and female teachers in each agency from the Manus Staff Directory.[19] It appears that the Catholic Mission has approximately 82.1 per cent male teachers and 26.8 per cent female teachers, while the Administration has approximately 57.7 per cent males and 42.3 per cent females.

TABLE 21

SEX OF INDIGENOUS TEACHERS BY AGENCY

Sex	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Male	60.9	100	100
Female	39.1	----	----
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

When respondents were asked if they felt that it was as important to educate women as men, teachers from all agencies agreed that it was (responses from Evangelical Mission teachers 82.6 per cent; Catholic Mission teachers 84.6 per cent, and the Administration teachers, 100 per cent).

TABLE 22

TEACHERS' OPINION AS TO WHETHER EDUCATION WAS AS IMPORTANT FOR WOMEN AS FOR MEN BY AGENCY

Feelings	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Yes	82.6*	100.0	84.6
No	17.4	-----	15.4
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

*All of the women teachers were in the "yes" category

While the teachers of the two mission groups agreed, yet they were more conservative than the Administration teachers. Of the Evangelical Mission teachers' negative responses, none of these were women. There is slight evidence, then, that the mission teachers were more conservative than the Administration teachers, and male teachers were more traditional than the female teachers in relation to women's education.

Marital Status: Of the Manus Evangelical teachers, 52.2 per cent were single and 47.8 per cent were married.

TABLE 23

MARITAL STATUS OF INDIGENOUS TEACHERS BY AGENCY

Marital Status	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Single	52.2	----	15.4
Married	47.8	100	84.6
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

It is interesting that of the twelve single teachers who comprised the 52.2 per cent, seven of these were women; of the eleven married teachers who comprised the 47.8 per cent, only two of these were women. While the barrier against the traditional role of women is slowly being broken, there is still a trend for women to follow more traditional roles than men. Many women will marry early and not continue their education. Those who do continue have more difficulty than the men in finding a suitable marriage partner. Educated women no longer want arranged marriages; they expect to marry someone of their own choosing with equal educational qualifications. On the other hand, many of the educated men still accept the idea of arranged marriages and are willing to marry a woman who has considerably less education than he. When a woman teacher does marry, she usually is expected to quit her job -- especially upon the arrival of children. This is a pattern not unfamiliar with the recent western role model.

Number of Children: The average number of children (.8) is probably an indication of the younger age of the Evangelical teachers than those in the Administration who had an average of 3.2 children or the Catholic Mission teachers who had 1.7 children.

TABLE 24

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF INDIGENOUS TEACHERS BY AGENCY

Number of Children	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
Mean	.8	3.2	1.7
Median	0	3	1
N	(19)	(35)	(22)

Place of Birth: The Indigenous teacher of the Manus Evangelical Mission is basically a home-grown product. Twenty-one of twenty-three teachers (91.3 per cent) were born in the Manus District. In comparison, 100 per cent of the Catholic Mission teachers in the sample were Manus-born. This is contrasted to 45.5 per cent of the Administration's respondents.

TABLE 25

LOCATION OF THE HOME VILLAGE OF INDIGENOUS TEACHERS BY AGENCY

Home Village	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
In Manus District	91.3	45.5	100
Out of Manus District	8.7	54.5	----
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

Religious Affiliation: Likewise, the teachers in the Evangelical Mission belonged to churches affiliated with the Mission agency; 91.3 per cent of the teachers were from the church on Manus itself. The Catholic Mission had 100 per cent of its former pupils teaching in its agency, while the Administration teachers came from all the religious groups on Manus with the exception of the Evangelical Mission. This figure could indicate loyalty to the Evangelical Mission by its teachers. On the other hand, since this was the first year of the National Teaching Service, it is likely that some teachers from the church mission will be going over to the Administration agency. In fact, several teachers indicated that they planned to do this in the next year. Since all teachers in agencies who are members of the National Teaching Service now get equal pay for equal qualifications, a person changing teaching agencies would probably have other motivation -- better fringe benefits, more freedom, less responsibilities, or a more personal reason such as a grievance against the church organization. This would be a good area for a study if a mission were interested in examining its services closely.

TABLE 26

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF INDIGENOUS TEACHERS
BY AGENCY

Religious Affiliation	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Evangelical Alliance	100	----	----
Catholic	----	27.3	100
United	----	27.3	----
Lutheran	----	18.2	----
Seventh Day Adventist	----	18.2	----
Paliau (Indigenous Church)	----	9.1	----
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

Teacher Qualifications and Salary Structure: A complicated certification and salary structure has been worked out by the government; each course or year of further training places a teacher in a different salary category -- if not certification level. The age of the teacher also has a bearing on salary, as those teachers under the age of twenty-one receive proportionately less money for each year under twenty-one than those with equal qualifications. Basically, however, certification is based on the number of years of schooling a teacher has plus a legitimate teaching certificate from a government-recognized teachers' college. Formerly this was a one-year course and now has been changed to two years. Primary school in Papua New Guinea consists of Standards 1 to 6 (Grades 1 to 6); secondary school consists of four additional years called Forms 1, 2, 3, 4. Therefore, Form 1 would be roughly equivalent to the Canadian Grade 7; Form 2 to Grade 8, etc. A Certificate A, therefore, represents those teachers with Form 1 or less; Certificate B is Form 2, and Certificate C is Form 3.

TABLE 27

CERTIFICATION OF INDIGENOUS TEACHERS BY AGENCY

Certification	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
A	60.9	18.2	7.7
B	26.0	72.7	53.8
C	13.1	9.1	38.5
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

Possibly the figures most representative of the total Papua New Guinea scene are those of the Evangelical Mission teachers (60.9 per cent were in the Certification A category, while only 13.1 per cent were in the C category). The other teachers, being head teachers in their schools, were an already specialized group because of their age, experience and years of schooling. These figures are indicative of the problems that the missions in Papua New Guinea face now when the Administration is upgrading the requirements for teaching in the Territory.

The former teachers, who taught the present group of Evangelical Mission teachers, had only a few years of education -- sometimes only three or four. Already, these former teachers have lost their jobs; often working for the mission in another capacity or have returned to a village subsistence level. Likewise, the mission teachers who were older did not have enough years of schooling to keep them competitive in the job market; they were being forced to return to school for upgrading or to drop out of teaching.

Teaching Career

Rationale for Becoming a Teacher: Respondents were asked their reasons for becoming a teacher. Interestingly enough, liking children was the lowest percentile of responses from all three agencies. The highest percentage of responses was the desire to help their people (31.1 per cent for the Evangelical Mission teachers; 54.2 per cent for the Administration teachers, and 68.0 per cent for the Catholic Mission teachers).

The second highest percentage in the two mission agencies was the desire to please someone -- usually a missionary. The rationale used was extremely idealistic:

> "It's a vocation called by God who wanted me to serve him in this world; to serve God, to help Queen and my country, my people and my own children."

Nineteen per cent of the Evangelical Mission people said they had no choice, they were told they were being sent to teachers' training or, at times, the circumstances dictated the range of choices. One respondent explained his decision:

> "I wanted to get out of high school. It was a very bad time there. I had always wanted to be a sea captain like my Dad. I went to (the Local Government Counselor) and asked. He wrote some things down and said he would write for application. I should go home and wait a year -- come back May 31st. I waited a whole year; came back May 2 or 3. He looked through papers on his desk. Shuffled some and then said, 'Oh, yes, you're the boy I talked to before. Sorry, you are very late. I can't help you now.' I was angry. But I couldn't do anything. I hadn't wanted to be a teacher...but I asked the mission then if I could go."

TABLE 28

TEACHERS' REASONS FOR BECOMING A TEACHER BY AGENCY

Reasons	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Had No Choice	19.4	4.2	4.0
Wanted to Help Own People	36.1	54.2	68.0
Wanted to Please Someone	25.0	----	24.0
Saw Opportunity for Advancement	11.1	25.0	4.0
Liked Children	2.8	4.2	----
Just Wanted To	5.6	12.5	----
NR	(36)	(24)	(25)

Others perceived teaching as an opportunity -- to get money, to combine teaching with village life or with marriage (11.1 per cent). A few said they had always wanted to be a teacher, but had no specific reason why (5.6 per cent). Probably the most realistic reason was that given by one teacher, "There was not much vocational opportunity offered to graduates of Mission Elementary Schools in the early 1960's." If a child was adequate in school and wanted to attend a teacher training institute, he was usually sent. One teacher said that the bright students go on to the Form 3 and 4; the dull ones go to teacher's training. Although this was not entirely correct, it is true that of those who attended school beyond Form 2, very few chose to become teachers. Being a teacher is upward mobility, but if another job, more influential or better paid, were available, it would be sought.

Differences Between Mission and Administration Agencies: Respondents were asked if they felt there was a difference in teaching for a Mission Agency than for the Administration. The majority of responses in both missions agreed that there were differences: the teachers of the two mission agencies had positive responses, indicating that teaching for a Mission was preferable to the Administration (Evangelical Mission teachers 67.8 per cent, and Catholic Mission teachers 64.3 per cent).

TABLE 29

EVALUATION GIVEN TO DIFFERENCES PERCEIVED BY TEACHERS BETWEEN TEACHING FOR A MISSION VERSUS ADMINISTRATION AGENCY BY AGENCY

Comparison	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Positive Evaluation of Mission	67.8	8.3	64.3
Positive Evaluation of Administration	16.1	50.0	35.7
Neutral: No Difference	16.1	41.7	----
NR	(31)	(12)	(14)

In contrast, 50 per cent of the responses from the Administration teachers indicated that teaching for the Administration was preferable.

In both mission agencies, there was a strong feeling that the religious element should dominate and influence all areas of teaching. They also believed that mission teachers were more dedicated to their jobs than Administration teachers. Evidence of this dedication was more cooperation between teachers, more concern for children and better treatment of them. Included in this comparison was the belief that the Administration teachers were only concerned about money, not people.

Conversely, in the Administration teachers' responses, the teachers felt that the Mission teachers were only interested in Bible Studies, while the Administration teachers were more concerned with good education. They felt that they had better training, on the whole, and better school facilities, accommodations and teaching materials.

Some of the respondents of the mission agencies felt that teaching for the Administration would be better than teaching for the mission (Evangelical Mission responses 16.1 per cent, and Catholic Mission responses 35.7 per cent). The reasons given were that the Administration had better teaching materials and equipment, more privileges and opportunities and less extra-curricular duties than did the mission agencies. One respondent agreed that the teaching for a mission was less advantageous than teaching for the Administration, but that this hardship was a necessary element in mission education: "There is a kind of ethical binding...that tends to suppress some of the needs and wants of teachers." Only 8.3 per cent of the Administration teachers had a more positive attitude toward teaching for a mission rather than for the Administration. These indicated that they felt the Administration should include more religious instruction. More Administration teachers responded that they felt there were no differences in the teaching agencies than did the teachers from the missions (Administration teachers 41.7 per cent; Evangelical Mission teachers 16.1 per cent), and there were no responses in this category from the Catholic Mission teachers.

Feelings About Teaching for a Mission/Administration Agency: The next question became more personal, probing whether the respondents liked teaching for the specific agency in which they were employed. The Evangelical Mission teachers were the most positive: 69.7 per cent said they liked it and 21.7 per cent indicated that they would like to see some changes. The Catholic Mission teachers divided their responses evenly: 38.5 per cent liked it and 38.5 per cent felt that it needed some changes. Teachers from both agencies felt that the teachers' living conditions should be improved. One said, "Mission authorities press upon mission teachers to work hard... yet they don't see that he's a human being who needs good conditions and enough to support the family who suffers most."

Several respondents in the Catholic Mission (15.4 per cent) were unhappy with their agency, but felt that it was their duty to continue to teach there. "Poor pay, bad conditions. But it's life and I should accept it. Even though some might think I'm foolish." Another respondent was very philosophical about the differences between agencies: "I wouldn't be any happier if I were teaching for the Administration. I see the problems on both sides of the fence and they are nearly identical except perhaps more salary or less salary."

TABLE 30

TEACHERS' FEELINGS ABOUT
TEACHING FOR A MISSION/ADMINISTRATION AGENCY
BY AGENCY

Attitude	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Like It	69.7	63.6	38.5
O.K.; Needs Some Changes	21.7	27.3	38.5
Don't Like It; Would like to Change	4.3	9.1	7.7
Don't Like It; Our Duty Though	4.3	----	15.4
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

In summary then, teachers in each agency were basically happy with their own agency and found reasons to justify their continued employment there, although there were many areas of concern which they would have liked to see changed. There was considerable agreement that mission education was basically concerned with religious education. Whether this was seen as a positive or negative element depended upon whether they were teaching for a mission or for the Administration, each agreeing that his agency was the best. All agencies indicated that the Administration had better working conditions and more personal freedom than the Missions. The ones who definitely did not like an agency indicated that they were in the process of changing to another agency.

National Teaching Service: When asked how they felt about the new National Teaching Service which was just introduced that year, 1971, there was an enthusiastic acceptance by almost all respondents in all three agencies (Evangelical Mission teachers' responses, 69.5 per cent; Administration teachers' responses, 71.7 per cent, and the Catholic Mission teachers' responses, 61.5 per cent). The highest percentage of reasons given, in all agencies, was the feeling that the National Teaching Service would promote unity and equality of all the teachers (Evangelical Mission teachers' responses, 26.1 per cent; Administration teachers' responses, 54.5 per cent, and the Catholic Mission teachers' responses, 30.7 per cent).

From the responses given in this category, it seemed that there were some strong feelings that the Mission and Administration agencies had been working in opposition to each other:

> "Everything is the same now."
>
> "Separate ways we went before."
>
> "Every teacher can get the same treatment now."
>
> "The problems between the mission and administration can be straightened out now."

Some felt that the unity of all the teachers would result in the group "having more say" in the educational planning for their schools and for their districts.

TABLE 31

TEACHERS' FEELINGS ABOUT THE NATIONAL TEACHING SERVICE BY AGENCY

Feelings	Evangelical Mission		Administration		Catholic Mission	
	Percentage					
Positive:						
No Reason Given	17.4)		9.1)		7.7)	
Promotes National Unity	8.6)		9.1)		7.7)	
Promotes Unity & Equality of Teachers	26.1)		54.5)		30.7)	
Promotes Increased Professional Competence	17.4)	}69.5	----)	}71.7	15.4)	} 61.5
Ambivalent:						
Good, but Afraid of Losing Autonomy	17.4		----		----	
O.K. or Don't Know	13.0		18.2		30.7	
Negative:						
	----		9.1		----	
No Answer	----		----		7.7	
N	(23)		(11)		(13)	

Another category of responses indicated that the National Teaching Service would increase professional competence by an exchange of ideas between the teachers in the different agencies (Evangelical Mission teachers, 17.4 per cent, and Catholic Mission teachers, 15.4 per cent). Many mission respondents felt that they had much to learn from the Administration teachers and their ideas, but there were no responses in this category from the Administration teachers.

National unity was mentioned also to be a result of combining all teachers under the National Teaching Service (Evangelical Mission teachers responses, 8.6 per cent; Administration teachers' responses, 9.1 per cent, and Catholic Mission teachers' responses, 7.7 per cent). One respondent said, "I think it's a great piece of compromise nationally. If you see our previous educational system, you'll know why."

A fairly large proportion of the responses in each agency simply indicated that their feelings were positive about the National Teaching Service, but gave no specific reasons why. Several Evangelical Mission respondents seemed to be ambivalent concerning the National Teaching Service; they could see some advantages, but were afraid of losing the separate Mission identity. They were fearful that in accepting money from the Administration for teachers' salaries they were also accepting regulations which would eventually break down mission authority, thereby losing the religious emphasis of the mission schools.

Advantages of Respondent's School: When asked what things the respondents liked about their school, the highest number of Evangelical Mission responses (35.5 per cent) listed the physical location and facilities of the school. Convenience of location and the good accommodations were in this category. The next highest category was the social contacts with other Indigenous people which were available to the teachers because of their school (32.3 per cent). The educational qualifications of the school were mentioned in 25.8 per cent of the responses.

The highest number of responses from teachers in the Administration and the Catholic Mission agencies related to the educational qualifications of their schools (Administration teachers' responses, 35.7 per cent, and the Catholic Mission teachers' responses, 38.9 per cent).

TABLE 32

TEACHERS' OPINIONS CONCERNING ADVANTAGES OF THEIR SCHOOL BY AGENCY

Advantage	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Social Aspects	32.3	7.1	16.7
Physical Location; Facilities	35.5	21.4	11.1
Educational Aspects	25.8	35.7	38.9
Related to Money	3.2	14.3	----
Chance to Preach	3.2	----	----
No Answer	----	21.4	33.3
NR	(31)	(14)	(18)

Disadvantages of Respondent's School: In contrast to the advantages listed in the previous question, the disadvantages of the respondents' schools were discussed in greater detail, despite the fact that the total number of responses was nearly identical. The highest percentage of responses from the Evangelical Mission teachers was 29 per cent, and this included answers which said there were inadequate physical facilities and educational materials.

Several respondents mentioned that there were not enough supplies or that the Indigenous teachers did not have free access to them. Many mentioned that buildings were badly in need of repair and felt that the mission would not help in the repair work needed.

> "In the dorms, pipes, etc., need fixing. Water tank does not work properly. Nothing gets done. We ask and ask. Nothing changes. So why ask more?"

TABLE 33

TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF DISADVANTAGES OF THEIR SCHOOL BY AGENCY

Disadvantages	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Children's Behavior	12.9	13.3	----
Parents' Lack of Cooperation	12.9	6.7	52.6
Inadequate Physical Facilities; Materials	29.0	20.0	21.1
Extra-Curricular Duties	19.4	6.7	----
Poor Staff-Mission Cooperation	19.4	13.3	----
Not Enough Food	6.4	----	----
No Disadvantages	----	13.3	5.3
Miscellaneous	----	13.3	15.8
No Answer	----	13.3	5.3
NR	(31)	(15)	(19)

A distinction needs to be made between the village schools and the mission boarding schools. The schools in the village were often listed as being inadequate for teaching -- roofs leaked and there was little permanent storage space for books and paper, and desks were difficult to write on. In the main mission station, the teachers were very happy with the conditions of the classrooms, generally, but felt that many small things needed fixing or improving. They felt that the Mission should be responsible for these repairs, but were feeling unhappy with the lack of response on the part of the mission. They were often unhappy with their housing conditions, for which they paid rent. This was a continual source of contention between the teachers and the mission.

Two areas of concern which were mentioned an equal number of times (19.4 per cent) by the Evangelical teachers were the extra-curricular duties which were expected of the teacher and the lack of cooperation between the mission agency and the teachers. These duties were usually the responsibility of the respondents who were teaching in the boarding schools and involved supervision of grass-cutting, distribution of food supplies and the overseeing of its preparation, and supervision in the dormitories. It was especially hard on the women teachers as they were expected to live in the dormitory as well. They felt that their over-exposure to the girls and their role as disciplinarian cut down their teaching effectiveness. It was also difficult for them never to have time to themselves for rest or lesson preparation.

In the area of lack of mission-staff cooperation, strong opinions were expressed. The lack of independence given to the teacher by the mission and the lack of confidence in him as a professional were two major areas of concern. Let the complaints speak for themselves.

> "Too close supervision by the mission, It would be better if they (the school and the mission headquarters) were a bit separate."
>
> "The mission doesn't listen to us. When we talk to mission about problems, we don't get satisfaction. They say, 'Wait'."
>
> "Staff should be given positions of responsibility like Headmaster, or Mission Education Officers. We asked about this. He (the missionary) said, 'You don't have enough education.'. We say, 'We learn by experience'. We are teaching Standards 5 and 6 when our preparation

> is really for lower classes. It's plenty hard work, but we do it. But we can't really talk to Mission. If they cut us off once we can't bring it up again. We're not really equals!"
>
> "Missionaries don't trust us. Missionaries should be training us to do the jobs. (The missionary) could still be over us. How can we learn without trying?... Nothing changes. They don't listen. They don't hear."
>
> "(One missionary) had it in for me. I talked to (another missionary). He said I must turn the other cheek -- be nice because that's what the Bible says. I said, 'O.K. I'll do what the Bible says -- but that doesn't change what (the missionary) does or thinks -- or the anger inside me against him. What about his other cheek?'"

It is obvious from the opinions stated that open and honest communication was missing between the teacher and the mission agency. The problems of unequal status and racial difficulties are also apparent -- missionaries had the power to make the decisions, and the teachers were in the position of asking for more authority and for the chance to learn through responsibility. If the missionaries were in the position of advisors, rather than decision-makers, much of the above dissatisfaction could have been eliminated.

The category receiving the lowest percentage of responses indicated that there was insufficient food for the children (6.4 per cent). In the first part of the schedule, in almost every question relating to elementary schooling, lack of food was mentioned. It is particularly interesting that it reappears so many times -- not only in the Evangelical Mission responses, but in the Catholic Mission responses as well. The continued persistence of the response indicated that it was a real problem, and it is particularly significant in that it illustrated the lack of the two-way communication and trust that is discussed above. The researchers had been told while in Papua New Guinea by the children that many times they were hungry at school. This problem was discussed briefly with the mission, but it was dismissed as being untrue. Each day, a measured amount of food is distributed to the children for them to cook. This process of measuring is called "scaling". The food is either supplied by the parents or bought by the mission with money from school fees. The mission runs short of food at times, so is cautious with its scaling. The Indigenous teachers insist that the proportions of food scaled are not adequate for Manus children. The teachers discussed the difficulties:

> "Two cylinders of sago for twenty or more dorm children or one coconut shell rice for two boys. It is not enough. The boys say they are sick just to get medicine for their stomachs. I scale more when I am on duty. We can't go to (the missionary). He will think we are making trouble; he won't believe us."
>
> "Food is not enough. Children feel sleepy; don't do their work and are difficult problems sometimes. It was the same when we were in school. I am sure it's the food. But we can't talk. We have to follow what (the missionary) says. She won't let us feed the children who remain at school when everyone goes away unless they work first. Parents are unhappy."

The teachers also approached the mission, but they refused to see it as a legitimate complaint. They would either say that the teachers were wrong and that the children were not hungry (a denial of the teacher's perceptions) or else they would say that if the children were hungry, it was the fault of the parents who had not contributed their share of the food. In either case, the children suffered needlessly because the issue was not dealt with as a realistic complaint, but as a power and authority struggle. Not dealing with the issue at hand only increased the feelings of resentment between staff and mission and between the villagers and the mission. Many parents felt that the mission was exploiting their children to a certain extent; children had to work cutting grass for the mission, yet the mission would not feed them an adequate diet. The missionaries, not believing the claims to be true, felt the villagers were using this issue in order to avoid their proper responsibilities.

Would Like To Transfer To Another School: Respondents were then asked if they would request a transfer to another teaching post soon. All three agencies responded affirmatively (Evangelical Mission, 69.6 per cent; Administration, 72.7 per cent, and the Catholic Mission, 79.9 per cent).

The normal pattern of teaching careers in Papua New Guinea involves frequent transfers, so the percentiles were high partially for that reason. Change for variety and experience was most often mentioned in the Evangelical Mission group (38.1 per cent). Re-training, upgrading and promotions was next highest (28.6 per cent), and 23.8 per cent mentioned that they would like to teach for the Administration. There were a few (9.5 per cent) who would like to quit teaching altogether. In the other two agencies, re-training and variety were also important reasons for requesting a transfer. A higher percentage (25.0 per cent) of the Administration teachers would like to change jobs, and 16.7 per cent of the Administration teachers would like to return to village life.

TABLE 34

TEACHERS' OPINION OF WHETHER THEY THINK THEY WILL TRANSFER TO ANOTHER TEACHING POST SOMETIME AND POSSIBLE REASONS FOR TRANSFER BY AGENCY

Likelihood of Changing	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Yes	69.6	72.7	79.9
No	13.0	9.1	7.7
Don't Know: Undecided	4.3	----	----
No Answer	13.0	18.2	15.4
N	(23)	(11)	(13)
Reasons For Transferring			
Re-Training, Upgrading, Promotion	28.6	25.0	33.3
Variety; Experience	38.1	25.0	33.3
Change Type of Job	9.5	25.0	8.3
Change Teaching Agencies	23.8	----	----
Go Back to Village	----	12.5	16.7
Miscellaneous Personal Reasons	----	12.5	8.3
NR	(21)	(8)	(12)

Several of the Evangelical respondents who were unhappy with their teaching situation were requesting transfer to the Administration, although they had not yet informed the mission. The other teachers who were unhappy said they would like to get a different type of job or go back to village life. There were more respondents in the Catholic Mission group who wanted to return to the village than in the other agencies; only a few of the Catholic respondents wanted to change to another wage-paying job.

Classroom Problems

Parent Participation: When asked if the parents came to see the respondent concerning their children's work, 43.5 per cent of the Evangelical teachers answered negatively; 34.8 per cent affirmatively, and 21.7 per cent said parents came only when requested.

TABLE 35

TEACHERS' ANSWERS AS TO WHETHER PARENTS CAME TO SEE THEM ABOUT THEIR CHILDREN'S WORK BY AGENCY

Answers	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Yes	34.8	63.6	30.8
No	43.5	18.2	30.8
Only When I Request It	21.7	18.2	38.5
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

This was in contrast to the Administration respondents (affirmative, 63.6 per cent; negative, 18.2 per cent, and 18.2 per cent said that parents came when requested). The Catholic Mission responses were pretty well evenly divided (affirmative, 30.8 per cent; negative, 30.8 per cent, and 38.5 per cent said they did when requested).

Respondents noted that a Board of Management of the village often handled matters of misbehavior, rather than parents. The general reactions on this question indicated that the parents were not familiar with school, did not usually take the initiative in seeing a teacher, but that they would definitely come if requested. One teacher said, "They don't come by themselves. They don't know they should come to see a teacher. They are interested, I think."

When respondents were asked if parents should participate in school decisions involving their children, 87.0 per cent of the Evangelical Mission teachers and 69.2 per cent of the Catholic Mission teachers agreed. Yet, 72.7 per cent of the Administration respondents indicated negatively.

TABLE 36

TEACHERS' ANSWERS AS TO WHETHER PARENTS SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN SCHOOL DECISION-MAKING BY AGENCY

Parent Participation	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Yes	87.0	27.3	69.2
No	13.0	72.7	30.8
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

A Parents and Citizens Organization (similar to Home and School) had been organized when the National Teaching Service was initiated in 1970. As such, it was a very new organization in many schools with neither parents nor teachers quite knowing how to proceed. However, it was felt that the Parents and Citizens Organization would help parents learn about school and education. One teacher felt that the organization was good because "When Independence comes, Europeans will leave and we must learn more how to do things for ourselves."

Some respondents mentioned that parents, through the P and C Organization, should have the power to change things they did not like about the mission schools -- especially the boarding ones. For instance, children must cut grass each day on the mission compound. One teacher said, "Children have to pay twenty cents for grass knives. Parents should say 'Why should we pay for grass knives? Our children cut grass for you.'" There was an indication that parents felt that the schools "bilong misin" (belong to the mission) and were not "their" schools. This was reinforced by teachers who felt that parents were entitled only to participate in decisions involving school maintenance, but should have no part of the curriculum decision-making. It was felt that the parents were ignorant in matters involving education -- only "educators" know enough to decide on these types of matters.

> "They don't understand how subjects are being taught."
>
> "It's not their work. They are not teachers. 'Bilong ticha, tasol'." (translated as meaning belonging only to the teacher.)
>
> "No, otherwise they'll come up with many ideas and suggestions on how a school should run!"

Again, one sees the increasing professionalization of education is removing the parents further from involvement with the children. The more divorced curriculum is from the village knowledge of parents, the more estranged the parents and the children will become. To only be allowed to do the manual work of the school, but not to be involved in any educational process, would seem to teach the children and parents that only the uneducated can work, but that work should not be done by the educated. This is an attitude that under-developed countries cannot afford to foster and teach, if only indirectly.

Subjects Difficult For Children To Learn: When asked what subjects were most difficult for Manus children to learn, the Evangelical Mission responses were English (51.9 per cent), Math (25.9 per cent), and Social Studies (14.8 per cent).

TABLE 37

TEACHERS' OPINION ON WHAT SUBJECTS WERE MOST DIFFICULT TO LEARN AND THE REASONS FOR THE DIFFICULTY BY AGENCY

Subject	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
English	51.9	35.7	66.7
Math	25.9	42.9	20.0
Social Studies	14.8	7.1	6.7
Art	7.1	----	----
Science	----	14.2	6.7
NR	(27)	(14)	(15)
Reasons			
No Background to Relate To	36.4	16.7	28.6
Learning Without Comprehension; Confused	33.3	16.7	14.3
Teachers Don't Understand Subject	9.1	16.7	----
No Opportunity to Practice	6.1	8.3	14.3
Lack of Good Teaching Materials	9.1	8.3	14.3
Use of English When Teaching Other Subjects	----	25.0	28.6
Miscellaneous	6.1	8.3	----
NR	(33)	(12)	(7)

The reasons given for finding a subject difficult were categorized. That the child had no background to which he could relate the subject was listed in 36.4 per cent of the Evangelical Mission responses, and 33.3 per cent of the responses indicated that the child did not understand what he was learning. He was confused between traditional and modern learnings. Lack of understanding of the subject matter on the part of the teacher and lack of good teaching materials also were factors mentioned. The reasons listed by the other agencies seem to fall in the same general categories with the exception of one. Both the Administration teachers (25 per cent) and the Catholic Mission teachers (28.6 per cent) mentioned that the reasons children were having difficulty in areas such as Social Studies and Science, even Math, was that these subjects were being taught in English. It was not necessarily the subject matter they could not understand, it was the English! If a student were poor in English, he would necessarily be poor in these other subjects. Perhaps these would be good areas in which to utilize Pidgin English, rather than English.

Subject Difficult to Teach: Social Studies was rated highest in teaching difficulty by the Evangelical teachers (39.1 per cent). English, Math and Science were all tied for next place with 17.4 per cent in each of the areas.

The reasons given were very similar to those mentioned previously.

TABLE 38

TEACHERS' OPINIONS AS TO WHICH SUBJECTS WERE MOST DIFFICULT TO TEACH AND REASONS FOR THE DIFFICULTY BY AGENCY

Subject	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Social Studies	39.1	20.0	37.5
Math	17.4	20.0	25.0
English	17.4	13.3	25.0
Science	17.4	46.7	----
Miscellaneous	8.6	----	12.6
NR	(23)	(15)	(16)
Reasons			
Lack of Facilities; Materials	22.2	30.8	14.3
Limited Personal Knowledge of Respondent	29.6	23.1	57.1
Lack of Good Training	14.9	38.8	7.1
Don't Like It; Don't Do Well	18.5	----	----
Lack of Relevancy to Environment	3.7	----	21.4
Children Can't Do Well	3.7	7.7	----
Hard to Plan on Own	7.4	----	----
NR	(27)	(13)	(14)

The respondents felt that their own lack of knowledge in a subject limited their ability to teach it (29.6 per cent). They also mentioned lack of proper facilities and educational materials which were prepared for specific subjects (22.2 per cent). Perhaps a carry-over from earlier days or perhaps failure in teaching a specific subject were the basis of 18.5 per cent of the responses which indicated that the reasons they found the subject difficult to teach was that they just did not like it. Lack of training was next highest with 14.9 per cent.

Teachers in the other agencies did not give as many specific reasons. The highest percentage in any category of responses in all three agencies was the 57.1 per cent of the Catholic Mission responses that indicated limited personal knowledge made it difficult to teach a subject.

Syllabus Content: Respondents were asked if there was anything they would like to change in the syllabus. Teachers in all three agencies agreed that there was (Evangelical Mission teachers, 56.5 per cent, Administration teachers, 81.8 per cent, and the Catholic Mission teachers, 92.3 per cent). However, the Evangelical Mission teachers were more conservative than the others, with 43.5 per cent saying that they would not like to change it.

TABLE 39

TEACHERS' FEELINGS ABOUT SYLLABUS CONTENT BY AGENCY

Feelings	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Would Like to Change It	56.5	81.8	92.3
Would Not Like to Change It	43.5	18.2	7.7
N	(23)	(11)	(13)
Reasons For Changing It			
Language Too Complicated	33.3	50.0	25.0
Re-Write to Suit Papua New Guinea	16.7	12.5	58.3
Expectations Too High	11.1	----	8.3
Subjects Not Well Planned	22.2	12.5	----
Specific Subject Criticisms	16.7	25.0	8.3
NR	(18)	(8)	(12)

The highest percentage of reasons for changing the syllabus was that the language was too complicated for Papua New Guinea teachers (33.3 per cent of the Evangelical Mission teachers' responses). Fifty per cent of the Administration teachers' responses indicated the same, while 25 per cent of the Catholic Mission teachers' responses were in this category. One respondent said, "The present syllabus we are using is written by the Australian for the Australian Standard with complicated English usage...Syllabus should be revised according to Papua New Guinea standards."

That the subjects were sometimes not well planned, or that they did not have enough details in them was specified in 22.2 per cent of the Evangelical Mission responses, although only 12.5 per cent of the Administration teachers' responses agreed, and there were no responses from the Catholic Mission teachers in this category.

That the syllabus should be re-written to suit the Papua and New Guinea conditions was indicated in 16.7 per cent of the Evangelical Mission responses, in 12.5 per cent of the Administration responses, and 58.3 per cent of the Catholic Mission responses. One teacher said, "My view is to revise three-fourths of the syllabus to suit Papuans and New Guineans." Many felt that they had to do too much of their own adapting for the local environment and that much of the material was irrelevant. Adapting of material was very difficult for teachers with their present training and educational level. They also did not believe that the syllabus was realistic in its evaluation of the abilities of children (11.1 per cent of the Evangelical Mission responses indicated that expectations were too high).

The respondents who did not want to change the syllabus felt that only professionals could plan for education, that they must know what they were doing, and that they should not be questioned. A few indicated that children enjoyed knowing that they could "keep up with the Syllabus". In so doing, they knew they were as good as any children in Papua New Guinea.

The idea that "education" can only take place in school and only by a "certified" educator is evidenced in this section -- the beginnings of professionalism. These feelings will probably increase as the teachers' qualifications become more rigid and school learning becomes further removed from village life.

The Standard 6 Examination: The Standard 6 examination and the difficulties it brings to a child were discussed in a previous section. However, the examination not only affects the child, it affects the teacher as well. The respondents were asked if the examination influenced the way they taught. This question was too wide-spread, since the grades taught ranged from Standard 1 through Standard 6. Obviously, Standard 6 teachers were more highly aware of the pressures of the examination than the Standard 1 teachers. However, of the twenty-three Evangelical Mission teachers, 9 answered affirmatively; 2 negatively, and 2 did not answer. Of the Catholic Mission, 9 were affirmative, 3 negative, and 1 did not answer. The ones who said they taught for the examination were also in the upper levels of the elementary school.

The responses revealed the pressure which the teachers feel to ensure that their students pass the examination. The teachers were caught between learning whose ultimate purpose was to pass an examination and learning which they believed necessary for Manus children in their own environment. Some were not aware of any dilemma, and they taught specifically for the Standard 6 examination: "They send us last year's copies to use." Some seemed to rationalize their use of the examination as a teaching device: "I try to teach for the exam. When they are learning for it, they also learn about the subject." Others were highly aware of the dilemma they faced, but realistically knew also that their students must perform well at the end of the year: "Certainly I do. (teach for the exam.). No teacher, I think, wants to see the general public gauge his ability by the number of drop-outs he produces."

Despite all the criticisms of the curricula, examination, syllabus, a significant majority said that the Standard 6 examination was a good way to decide on who goes to high school (Evangelical Mission teachers, 87.0 per cent, the Administration teachers, 63.6 per cent, and the Catholic Mission teachers, 53.8 per cent).

A higher percentage of respondents of the Evangelical Mission said they believed that it was a good way than the other two agencies. Some seemed to show some indecision about it. One could speculate that they agreed because they could not think in terms of alternatives -- yet. Manus teachers are the youngest and most inexperienced of the three agencies. Although they have many specific areas of discontent, they are fairly uncritical of the system.

TABLE 40

TEACHERS' OPINIONS AS TO WHETHER THE STANDARD 6 EXAMINATION WAS A GOOD WAY TO DETERMINE HIGH SCHOOL ENTRANCE BY AGENCY

Feelings	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
A Good Way	87.0	63.6	53.8
O.K.	8.7	9.1	77.7
Not A Good Way	4.3	27.3	30.8
No Answer	----	----	7.7
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

Yet, it is the system, not the mechanism, which is at fault. Probably the Standard 6 examination is as good a way as any to determine high school entrance; it is certainly an efficient way. In all fairness, the Administration has been seeking alternate ways of making this selection procedure, usually including the examination as one of several determining agents. However, no matter what the mechanism is used for the selection, the inevitable interactive problems that result call for some serious reexamination of the total system, its values and goals, and whether these are being served by the Standard 6 examination.

Teacher Training: In conclusion to this section, the respondents were asked how well they thought their training had prepared them for teaching. The responses were mixed. The majority of Evangelical Mission teachers indicated that their training was good (43.5 per cent); fewer indicated it was not good (30.4 per cent). Quite a few (26.1 per cent) believed it was O.K. or felt they didn't know. A few felt that they could not judge it "because it was put forward by the professional".

TABLE 41

HOW WELL TEACHERS THOUGHT THEIR TRAINING PREPARED THEM FOR TEACHING BY AGENCY

How Well?	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Good	43.5	27.3	53.8
Not Good	30.4	45.5	----
O.K.; Did As Much as They Could	8.7	18.2	30.8
Don't Know	17.4	9.1	15.4
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

A larger percentage of teachers (58.8 per cent) in the Catholic Mission than in any other agency said that their training was good and 30.8 per cent said it was O.K. Conversely, the Administration teachers' responses were negative (45.5 per cent said their training had not prepared them well, 27.3 per cent said that it had, and 18.2 per cent said that their training was O.K.). There was a significant percentage in each agency that did not know whether it had or not. There was a general feeling that the training was much too short and that they had had to learn too many things on their own. Many of the older teachers compared their training to the present training and felt that it didn't measure up. "I don't think I was well trained comparing to the training being used today. Today is much better than ten years ago."

It is interesting that in spite of all the problems mentioned in relation to teaching and the high percentage of respondents who said that their teaching problems related to their lack of training or their lack of personal knowledge of a specific subject, yet, the majority of the teachers felt that their training was adequate. This seems to indicate a real resistance to being critical of the agencies -- or even feeling that they have the right to do so.

Salary: An Example of System-Induced Dilemmas With Social and Cultural Consequences

The issue of teachers' salaries presents a typical dilemma which occurs when trying to combine two different systems. Formerly, when an Indigenous teacher was hired by a mission, he was paid a few dollars a month, while his food and housing were often a cooperative effort between the mission agency, the village people, and himself. The teacher was a part of the community, his prestige coming from his profession, but not from a money differential from the other villagers. European missionaries who taught in the schools were usually also minimally remunerated, as service to the mission was the prime motivation for teaching.

However, as the Administration began to provide more and more of the schools and the bureaucracy became more structured, Europeans were brought in to teach on a professional basis in the Administration schools. The contrast between the salaries of the Indigene and the European in the same educational agency became a serious point of contention -- as in all government agencies where Europeans and Indigenes were performing the same jobs. In order to deal with this racially-based pressure, the Administration equalized the salaries on a system based on equal salary for equal qualification. Since Australia was the major source of educational funding, the salaries were based on a European needs level, rather than on a local level.

In solving this one problem, others were created. The salary differential now between the Indigenous teacher in the Administration and in the mission system was great. For awhile, the missions held their teachers with the idea that money was not the only reward; dedication to their people and service to God were also important. The Administration teachers were "looked down upon" as being "only interested in money". This was a divisive influence when national unity was a goal of education.

In 1970, the National Teaching Service was incorporated, and all teachers of the missions who chose to join were paid the same salaries as the Administration teachers. Therefore, all the teachers, whether European or Indigenous, Mission or Administration, received pay commensurate with their qualifications. The annual starting salary for teachers with an A Certificate is $720; for B it is $1,070 and for C it is $1,200. This figure is increased, especially for the European, by years of teaching experience and further training, travel funds, housing allowances, etc.

When an Indigenous teacher lives in an urban setting, where he too must purchase all his goods and services, the salary cannot be considered to be too high. However, in a village setting, where the economy is not yet on a cash basis, other factors become crucial. The village teacher must return to a partial subsistence level; consequently, he will have a surplus of cash. In comparison to a negligible per capita cash income of most villagers, the teacher's salary is very high. The existence of a highly paid teacher in a village setting can also be a divisive factor. He is no longer a part of the community, but "above it" -- an elite with expectations to remain so. The community people do not feel that they should contribute to his support nor participate in cooperative school projects as school is "samting bilong govman" or "samting bilong mission" (meaning -- belonging to the government or mission). The disproportionate salary can be seen as a disfunctional factor in community cohesiveness; it contributes to the de-personalization of education and removes the responsibility another step away from the parents. Education is something to be purchased, not with their own money or efforts, but with the government's. It is also highly doubtful whether an independent Papua New Guinea can afford to maintain these salaries without outside assistance at an ever-increasing rate.

Summary: Conflicts and Discontinuities in Career

Related to Professional Aspects:

The majority of Manus Indigenous teachers are young, male, products of the Manus Educational System, and religious. Only one of fifty-seven teachers belonged to a non-western church, and that one belonged to Paliau's Indigenous church which is a combination of

Indigenous beliefs and Catholic liturgy. Teachers in both mission agencies taught in the same agency in which they grew up. Teachers for the Administration could be seen as more secular since they were brought up in a mission school, but for many reasons left the missions to teach for a non-religious organization.

The teachers are highly idealistic, claiming that they chose to teach because they wanted to help their own people or country or because they were urged to do so by someone important to them, usually a missionary. It is true, though, that many of them had little career choice. While respondents in each agency preferred teaching for their own agency, rather than for another agency, there were many and varied dissatisfactions voiced concerning the schools in which they taught and with the agency itself. The majority of the teachers felt that the teaching materials and physical facilities of the schools were very inadequate; they felt that they had too many extra duties that were technically not a part of teaching and that the cooperation between staff and the agencies was not good. This lack of cooperation had many aspects. Teachers felt that they were not treated as professionals -- or even as adults -- by the mission agency. They felt that they were not consulted in decision-making, nor were their complaints or suggestions heeded by the mission. In fact, communication had broken down to the point where the teachers believed that if they voiced a complaint to the European personnel, it would be taken as a sign of trouble-making, not as a legitimate suggestion. The lack of equality with European teachers and the lack of being given extra responsibilities in the running of the schools were points of contention between the teachers and the mission agencies. In spite of these severe dissatisfactions, most of the teachers wanted to remain within the mission agency and seemed to feel a sense of dedication and duty in spite of the perceived injustices within the system. It would seem that it would be wise for the mission to examine closely the communication network between themselves and their teachers and perhaps capitalize on the desires of the teachers for more responsibility, rather than forcing the teachers into some type of power and status struggle.

A majority of the teachers said they would soon request a transfer to another school, the main reason being for variety or for more experience. Only a few wished to change jobs or to return to the village. The teachers were very enthusiastic about the new National Teaching Service which combined all teachers under one organization. There seemed to be a growing awareness of professionalism which had both positive and negative aspects. The teachers felt that the National Teaching Service provided equality for all teachers whether they were mission or Administration. The equalization of salaries and status seemed crucial; the former salary differential between the missions and the Administration was divisive, fostering the belief that the Administration teachers were only concerned with money, but were not dedicated to the children. With all the teachers equal, respondents seemed to feel they could now establish reciprocal contacts between teachers in both kinds of agencies and learn from each other, thereby increasing their professional competence. This growing sense of professionalism may unite the teachers, but it could be seen also as another factor in the loss of community involvement in the children's education. Teachers felt that only they were qualified to make curricula decisions, although they did feel that the parents should share in maintenance-type school decisions and activities. The salary differential between the school teacher and the village person also creates a status and economic difference, removing the teacher further from the village life.

Related to Teaching Problems: Respondents believed that English and Math were the hardest subjects for the children to learn, although these same subjects had been the favorite ones in their own school days. They felt that the children had no basis or background to which to relate new concepts and ideas; they were often confused between traditional and European concepts, and much of learning was pure rote memorization, without understanding. The children have a difficult time learning these subjects because the teachers do not understand them themselves. It was interesting that teachers pointed out that the children also had a difficult time in subjects other than English because of their lack of fluency and comprehension in English. Therefore, subjects were failed because of poor English, not necessarily because of the specific subject being taught. When one realizes that a Standard 6 child is just beginning to grasp elementary English, yet six years of his education has been conducted in the English language, one marvels that children learn anything in their years of schooling. This finding would give support to elementary school being taught in Pidgin English or in a local language and introducing English in the later years, not as the medium of instruction, but as a second language.

Teachers felt that Social Studies and Science were hardest to teach because of their own personl inadequacies. They did not know enough about the subject; they did not have detailed teaching materials or instructions in the syllabus, or they had not been adequately prepared in teacher training for that subject. Consequently, teachers often hated teaching those subjects that they found difficult to teach. It is interesting that the same respondents, as children, often did not like a subject or did poorly in it because their own teacher had not liked it -- or had done poorly in it. Most said they would like to change the syllabus, that it was too Australian, too complicated, and that the expectations for the children were too high.

Yet, in spite of these very negative analyses of their inadequacies as teachers and after listing the many problems of the Standard 6 leaver in the previous section, most felt that their training was adequate and that the Standard 6 examination was a good way to decide on high school entrance.

With a few exceptions, the majority of the teachers seemed to be trying to perform at a level beyond their capabilities, some enthusiastically, some mechanically, some were struggling, some were disillusioned, and some were resentful. Many were like robots, performing on each day what the "professionals" had decided was appropriate for the children to learn that day. Quite a few teachers mentioned that if they could teach in Pidgin, then they could relax and concentrate on the problem at hand. Few were able to adapt lessons to their own particular environment, yet had they been required to teach local culture, each teacher could then function naturally as student and teacher together explored their environment. The "form" or the "package" which education is supposed to come in often hinders the actual learning and teaching from taking place.

THE NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE: THE TEACHER AS AN EDUCATED CITIZEN

Dilemma of Being Educated

Education and Feelings About One's Family: Respondents were asked if being educated had changed their feelings about their parents and family. Of the Evangelical Mission respondents, 60.9 per cent said their feelings had changed; 63.6 per cent of the Administration respondents agreed, as did 84.6 per cent of the Catholic Mission respondents.

TABLE 42

TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF WHETHER EDUCATION HAD CHANGED THEIR FEELINGS ABOUT THEIR FAMILIES BY AGENCY

Feelings	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Have Changed in Feelings	60.9	63.6	84.6
Have Changed; Try To Act Same	26.1	9.1	----
Have Not Changed	13.0	27.3	15.4
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

These respondents indicated that they now saw many things in the villages with which they disagreed, and they attempted to change these. Usually their advice was not welcomed by their families. Responses such as the following were typical of the first group:

> "I watch parents when I was small. They didn't know how to solve problems. Sometimes they fought and shouted at each other. I know now there are better ways of solving problems."
>
> "I want to try new ideas. Parents say, 'We don't want these ideas!' Then I feel bad a little."
>
> "They must see a new way. When they do things the old way I tell them they must try something different. Sometimes they don't like it. They are angry with me."

The next group of respondents agreed that they had changed, but that they still tried to act the same as before (Evangelical Mission teachers 26.1 per cent and the Administration teachers, 9.1 per cent. The Catholic Mission teachers had no responses in this category). These respondents showed a great degree of sensitivity to the feelings of their parents and family. They knew they had changed "in their head", as one respondent said, but tried not to let others feel the difference. Many respondents mentioned that they did not think it was right for educated people to return to the village and act "superior". The Manus have a very descriptive word for this in Pidgin English, "Bik Het" (translated, "Big Head!").

Typical responses in this category were:

> "I learned a lot of different things from the village, but when I go home to the village I am the same -- almost -- as before. I and my mother are very close. I always ask her everything before I make a decision. If she says alright, I do it. If she says no, then I don't. Sometimes she says she will have to talk and think awhile. So I wait."

> "I see some things different now but I try not to change. I am careful. Some people have problems because they say they know more. Although I try in little things to make my parents change, I don't tell them they are wrong..."

> "I am not staying with parents and family as happily as previous life."

Thirteen per cent of the Catholic Mission respondents indicated that they had not changed, in contrast to 27.3 per cent of the Administration respondents and 15.4 per cent of the Evangelical Mission respondents. One mentioned, "To my feelings I am not different from my parents or family -- but the only thing is I learn something different from them."

Family's Feelings Toward Respondent: By way of contrast, they were asked if their parents and families treated them differently now than before they were educated. Most respondents agreed that this was true (Evangelical Mission teachers, 82.6 per cent, Administration teachers, 63.6 per cent, and the Catholic Mission teachers, 84.6 per cent). The reasons seemed to fall into several different categories. Of the Evangelical Mission and the Administration responses, 50 per cent indicated that their families respected them now and listened to them. Only 28.6 per cent of the Catholic Mission responses were in this category. Respect seemed to involve more than just a feeling; it connoted a right to be heard and to be consulted on important matters in the family.

One respondent, while he agreed that his parents now respected him, saw that the respect must also be reciprocated in the manner that was traditionally customary.

> "I must respect them. I still am not fully independent. I must listen to them as long as my father lives. I must listen and obey. When he dies, I then live by myself (meaning making his own decision). I respect my parents and they me. They are proud, but still I am their son -- just like before."

This respondent had postponed accepting a very good position with a training college because his old father had not wanted to be parted with his son. Since that time, the father has died, and the son went on for further re-training before accepting the teaching position.

TABLE 43

TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF FAMILY'S REACTION TO RESPONDENT BEING EDUCATED AND WAYS IT WAS INDICATED BY AGENCY

Family's Reaction	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Treat Me Differently Now	82.6	63.6	84.6
Treat Me the Same	13.0	36.4	15.4
No Answer	4.3	----	----
N	(23)	(11)	(13)
Family's Way of Indicating			
Respect Me; Listen to Me Now	50.0	50.0	28.6
Proud of Me	12.5	16.7	----
Give Me Special Treatment	20.8	16.7	28.6
Use My Skills	8.3	16.7	----
Afraid of Me; Barrier Between Us	8.3	----	42.8
NR	(24)	(6)	(7)

Getting special treatment when one returned home was in 20.8 per cent of the Evangelical Mission teachers' responses. Many villagers feel that education means a person no longer sits or sleeps on the ground since the white man never does. One way of treating their educated children then was not letting them sleep or sit on the floor. Another mother showed her love through food.

> "Mother thinks of me first; serves me first, treats me special. 'I love you,' she says. 'You have missed us all and haven't had all of these good things (food) while you were away so I want to do these things for you.'"

Being proud (12.5 per cent) and using his skills (8.3 per cent) were the other areas of different treatment mentioned. The returning teacher often became official letter writer, translator or banker. The last area mentioned was in a negative sense; the family was afraid or shy of the educated teacher. This was mentioned in only 8.3 per cent of the Evangelical Mission teachers' responses; however, this category was significant for the Catholic Mission teachers, with 42.8 per cent of the responses. It was illustrated by the comment, "An invisible barrier had been set that is something more than parental attitude to a grown child." Another respondent seemed almost puzzled by negative family responses and said, "I am changing, but perhaps don't realize it."

Differences in Life Style: Respondents were asked whether there were any differences between the way they lived as teachers and the way their friends lived who had not gone on to school. Teachers in all three agencies responded that there were significant differences in the living styles.

TABLE 44

TEACHERS' PERCEIVED DIFFERENCES IN LIFE STYLES BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND STANDARD 6 LEAVERS BY AGENCY

Is There a Difference?	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Live Differently Than Friend	69.6	90.9	69.2
Live Only Slightly Differently	26.1	----	15.4
Live No Differently	4.3	9.1	7.7
No Answer	----	----	7.7
N	(23)	(11)	(13)
Types of Differences			
Style of Living:			
Use of Money	13.5	14.3	14.3
Type of House and Facilities	16.2	28.6	14.3
Books	10.8	14.3	----
Food Is Different	2.7	----	----
Type of Work: Job	16.2	----	42.9
Knowledge -- Attitudes:			
Family Life Style; Interaction	10.8	----	----
Way of Solving Problems	10.8	14.3	14.3
Knowledge of Outside World	10.8	28.6	14.3
Beliefs and Customs Different	8.1	----	----
NR	(37)	(7)	(7)

While almost all agreed there was a big difference in life styles, the types of differences varied widely. Respondents spoke in terms of very specific differences, not in generalities. The largest percentage of responses was 42.9 per cent when the Catholic Mission teachers indicated that their job or work was different than their friends' work -- an obvious difference. Teachers seemed to feel that they had changed in little things, were a little more educated, but that the differences were superficial.

Other Problems Created By Being Educated: It was felt that many of the respondents would be a bit shy about discussing personal problems. Since it is easier to be objective about someone else, other than oneself, another question was asked: Does having an education create any special problems for you -- or for someone you know? Again, the majority of respondents in every agency answered affirmatively (Evangelical Mission teachers, 52.2 per cent; Administration teachers, 63.6 per cent, and the Catholic Mission teachers, 76.9 per cent.

TABLE 45

TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF PROBLEMS CREATED BY BEING EDUCATED AND THE TYPES OF PROBLEMS BY AGENCY

Problem Creation	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Yes	52.2	63.6	76.9
No	47.8	36.4	23.1
N	(23)	(11)	(13)
Problem Created			
Money Problems With Relatives; Self	13.3	42.9	----
Don't Fit Customs	13.3	----	25.0
Makes People Act Superior	26.7	----	12.5
Marriage	6.7	----	----
Understanding Brings Value Conflict	40.0	----	52.5
A Little Education Not Enough; Need More	----	28.6	----
National Problems	----	28.6	----
NR	(15)	(7)	(8)

The highest category for the teachers of the two mission agencies was the feeling that education brought "understanding", but that this understanding brought too many decisions and a resultant conflict in values (Evangelical Mission teachers' responses, 40 per cent, and Catholic Mission teachers' responses, 52.5 per cent). There were no responses in this category from the Administration teachers. It was obvious that many of the respondents were torn between the old ways and the new.

> "I look to my ground in the village. Only three children left in the family. I look back to my ground. Nothing grows on my land. I think I am wasting my time teaching and nothing is happening on the land. My brother cannot get anything done by himself. When Independence comes, what will I have?"

"I don't believe but I practice", was the way one respondent put it. When probed more deeply about Indigenous beliefs and practices, it was documented that many respondents could also say the opposite, "I don't practice, but I believe." -- secretly at least. Another respondent summarized the feelings of most in this category: education "creates and solves problems -- more so now than twenty years ago. It was the educated men who last year made war at Rabaul."

Many respondents felt that education made people act superior (Evangelical Mission teachers' responses, 26.7 per cent and 12.5 per cent of the responses of the Catholic Mission teachers).

> "When some people go away and come back, they are proud -- act like European. Wear glasses. Know more than other people. People don't like this. They talk about it among themselves. Sometimes they say something to person; usually not."

> "Paper man -- show off. Parents want to know why he doesn't work any more. One boy went away from our village. When he came home, he would only talk English to his old Mama. Says he forgot "ples tok" already. Says he can't walk without shoes now; he must wear shoes." (Paper man is name for one who works with paper or books.)
>
> "Some with education are too proud of themselves -- forget about the others when they followed the educated way."

Money problems with relatives and not fitting with the culture anymore both were indicated in 13.3 per cent of the responses of the Evangelical Mission group. In the culture, one must share and exchange his goods; yet in the European tradition, one must save his money in order to become successful. Sharing and saving are not compatible values. In spite of the feelings of many of the respondents that they would like to keep their money entirely for themselves, yet 100 per cent of the teachers in all three agencies indicated that within the last year they had sent money to relatives for specific reasons. Tradition for them is still strong in this area. Many also felt that they no longer really fitted in the village life. Some statements were particularly wistful: "It brought me out from my people. Things are different; it's not the same in the family anymore." Some mentioned special skills which they had not learned and special customs that they could no longer observe. They felt that they were now different. Although they tried to resist change to a certain degree, they still felt the pull between the two cultures. One man said, "I know -- and now have to wrestle with more problems than I have before."

Questions Concerning Self-Government

In most developing countries, it has often been the former school teachers who have played one of the largest roles in the Independence movement. It is they who have been involved in promoting the political and social changes and who have assumed positions of responsibility in the new governments.

Whether or not Papua New Guinea teachers will play a major role in its imminent Independence remains to be seen. Nevertheless, in order for a national identity to be forged, teachers must be able to teach young children concerning these political and social matters. Therefore, a few questions concerning self-government, independence and a national language were selected in order to get some indication of political awareness.

Is Papua New Guinea Ready for Self-Government? To this question, the majority of teachers in every agency said, "No, not yet." (Evangelical Mission teachers, 95.7 per cent, Administration teachers, 81.8 per cent, and the Catholic Mission teachers, 84.6 per cent).

They were then asked what must happen before Papua New Guinea can be ready for development. The Evangelical Mission responses indicated that before the country was ready, development must come (45.7 per cent). The next highest category of responses was education (31.4 per cent), and lastly, political changes (22.9 per cent).

TABLE 46

TEACHERS' OPINIONS AS TO WHETHER PAPUA NEW GUINEA WAS READY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT AND WHAT MUST FIRST HAPPEN BY AGENCY

Readiness	Evangelical Mission		Administration		Catholic Mission	
	Percentage					
Yes	4.3		9.1		7.7	
No, Not Yet	95.7		81.8		84.6	
No Answer	----		9.1		7.7	
N	(23)		(11)		(13)	
Changes That Must Occur First						
Development:						
Development Know-How	14.3	45.7	16.7	25.0	----	14.3
Viable Economy	11.4		----		14.3	
Transportation Improved	5.7		----		----	
Industry	14.3		8.3		----	
Education:						
More Universal Education	31.4		41.7		42.9	
Political:						
Changes in House of Assembly; More Laws, More Indigenous Power	14.3	22.9	8.3	33.3	14.3	42.9
Indigenization	5.7		16.7		14.3	
Christians Running Country	2.9		----		----	
National Unity	----		8.3		14.3	
NR	(35)		(12)		(7)	

In contrast, the Administration teachers' responses mentioned education first (41.7 per cent). Political changes were mentioned next (33.3 per cent), and development was mentioned last (25.0 per cent), although 16.7 per cent of this was "Development Know-How" which could be possibly classified as education also. Interestingly enough, the responses of the Catholic Mission group were the most politically-oriented of all (42.9 per cent). The same percentage was mentioned for educational changes, while only 14.3 per cent mentioned development first.

In Favor of Self-Government: When asked if they were in favor of self-government, all teachers of the three agencies were definitely in agreement, although the teachers of the two missions were more hesitant than the Administration teachers for the timing of the self-government. The Evangelical Mission teachers and the Catholic Mission teachers' responses indicated they were in favor, but not now, (52.2 per cent and 46.2 per cent respectively), while 72.7 per cent of the Administration respondents were in favor without any time qualifications attached.

TABLE 47

PERCENTAGE OF TEACHERS WHO WERE IN FAVOR OF SELF-GOVERNMENT BY AGENCY

Reaction	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Yes	39.1	72.7	23.1
Yes, But Not Now	52.2	18.2	46.2
No	8.7	9.1	23.1
No Answer	----	----	7.7
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

Question of Language: When discussing self-government and independence, the question of a national language always arises. Respondents were asked three questions related to language: What should be the national language? What should be the medium of instruction in school? and Should Pidgin English or an Indigenous language be used sometimes in school?

A majority of Administration respondents felt that English should be the national language (63.6 per cent). In contrast, teachers in both mission agencies felt that Pidgin English should be the national language (Evangelical Mission teachers, 73.9 per cent, and Catholic Mission teachers, 61.5 per cent).

TABLE 48

TEACHERS' OPINIONS AS TO WHAT SHOULD BE THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA BY AGENCY

National Language	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
English	26.1	63.6	30.8
Pidgin English	73.9	36.4	61.5
No Answer	----	----	7.7
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

The Administration teachers also had the highest percentage of negative responses (36.4 per cent) when asked whether or not an Indigenous language should be used in school instruction, although the majority (63.6 per cent) felt that it should be. Teachers of the two mission agencies felt that Pidgin English should be the national language (73.9 per cent and 61.5 per cent respectively). They also felt that Indigenous languages or Pidgin English should definitely be used in schools (95.7 per cent and 84.6 per cent respectively). However, among teachers in all three agencies, there was agreement that English should be the major language of the schools.

TABLE 49

TEACHERS' OPINIONS AS TO WHETHER PIDGIN OR A PLES TOK * SHOULD BE USED IN SCHOOL BY AGENCY

Feelings	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
Yes	95.7	63.6	84.6
No	4.3	36.4	7.7
No Answer	----	----	7.7
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

*Ples Tok = A Village Language

TABLE 50

TEACHERS' OPINIONS AS TO WHAT LANGUAGE SCHOOL SHOULD BE TAUGHT IN BY AGENCY

School Language	Evangelical Mission	Administration	Catholic Mission
	Percentage		
English	95.7	81.8	69.2
Pidgin	4.3	18.2	23.1
No Answer	----	----	6.7
N	(23)	(11)	(13)

Many respondents mentioned the difficulty and expense of translating books into Pidgin English or the near-impossible task of re-orienting an entire educational system to a different language.

It is interesting that teachers, in spite of the many who felt that school subjects were difficult because they were taught in English and in spite of the difficulty in teaching in English, a foreign language to them, still felt strongly that English should be the school language. Again, it seems that teachers uphold the status quo because they have difficulty thinking in alternatives and because they have a vested interest in perpetuating the system.

Summary: Conflicts As An Educated Citizen

Regarding Being Educated: Education is not seen by the Indigene as being completely positive. The teachers felt that education had changed them, their attitudes, their way of living, and had created some seemingly insoluble conflicts. Most respondents said they had changed in their feelings toward their family and their village. Many saw ways in which they wished to change the family, but often found that their initial efforts to change people's ways had been discouraged. Some of the teachers seemed to feel that change was frightening; they did not want to change, although they realized that they had. Many mentioned that they tried to act the same when they went home so that their parents would not know they no longer felt the same as before. This attempt at self-delusion usually failed because the teachers reported that they were treated differently now than previously. The majority of respondents said that their families respected them and listened to them now, a privilege not usually granted to young people. They were given special treatment as their parents felt that educated people did not sit on the floor or eat with their fingers. While many of the teachers said that they worked on community projects when they returned home, yet without their initial insistence, special privilege would have been given them. Quite a few teachers felt that others were shy and diffident toward them now; education had created an "invisible barrier" between former friends and between family members.

The teachers looked at others with education and saw many problems also. They said that many educated people return to the village and act superior, refusing to be one with the people. They do not fit in the village anymore or cannot still perform some of the old ceremonies, nor are they skillful with their hands -- good only for paper work, as some of the old villagers claimed. There was a conflict between old and new values and beliefs. They now "knew" and therefore had to make decisions that were unnecessary before they "knew". But tradition was also strong, and many felt that they were not very different than before. While all the respondents agreed that they now lived differently than their uneducated friends, there was little agreement as to what these differences were. The majority just mentioned the obvious -- their jobs were different. They worked with paper; their friends worked with their hands.

There seems to be ambivalence on the teacher's part -- he is different; he isn't different. While he realizes that some things have changed, yet he would like things to be the same as before. He is sensitive yet to his parents, to the village, and to tradition. He would still like the best of both worlds and is not quite ready to give up the village for the world of the European -- especially when he is not sure of his position in the new world.

Regarding Government: The respondents are in favor of self-government but feel that it should not come yet. They feel that Papua New Guinea is not yet ready to govern itself -- that there are many things which must happen first. The Administration teachers were less cautious in this aspect than the mission agencies. They attached no time clauses to self-government and felt that they were ready now to assume that responsibility. Yet, some of these same teachers felt that they personally would like to assume many of the mission responsibilities that the missionaries were saying they were not ready for yet, that they did not know enough. A certain degree of dependence on Australia has been instilled, and perhaps realistically so, since most government agencies have been created in the mold of Australian ones, and the process of Indigenization has proceeded so cautiously.

Most of the teachers felt that Pidgin English should be the national language; English the medium of instruction in school, but that Pidgin English or an Indigenous language could be used at times in the classroom.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Margaret Mead, New Lives for Old: Cultural Transformation -- Manus, 1928-1953 (New York: Mentor Book Paperback, 1956), p. 103.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 114.

[4] Ibid., p. 112.

[5] Ibid., p. 115.

[6] Ibid., p. 121.

[7] Ibid., p. 132.

[8] Ibid., p. 133.

[9] Ibid., p. 137.

[10] In addition, the old system had provided alternate means of "letting off steam" -- legitimized prostitution, mock wars, rivalries, hard work, and long celebrations which required weeks of preparation.

[11] Ibid., p. 140.

[12] It is now evident that the substitution of Christianity for their previous religious beliefs was partial, not complete. Often the two belief systems could be held simultaneously without discrediting either.

[13] Ibid., p. 293.

[14] Ibid., p. 299.

[15] Ibid., p. 301.

[16] Ibid., p. 294.

[17] Ibid., p. 303.

[18] Ibid., p. 360.

[19] Department of Education, Schools and Staff Directory: Manus District (Konedobu: Territory of Papua New Guinea: Department of Education), pp. 253-255 and pp. 258-259. This was a very rough estimate as it is difficult at times to distinguish between the names of men and women in the Territory of Papua New Guinea.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL IMPERATIVES AND ALTERNATIVES

The previous chapter analyzed the educational process from the perspective of the Indigenous teacher and discussed many areas where changes could and should be made. However, to end the discussion there would be an exercise in futility as the most serious problems were not a result of individual teacher effectiveness or non-effectiveness; they resulted from the system itself, and that system, as was seen in Chapter III, was, in turn, influenced by political, social and economic factors. As in that children's ditty, "The House That Jack Built", there is a chain of interacting forces which must be seen as a total. Although individual lives are affected by the system, changes at the individual level would not eradicate the basic problems. Therefore, this chapter must return to the macro-level to search for the structure within which alternative approaches to educational problems can be found.

An educational system, whether traditional or modern, is the basic socializing agent of any society. It is the on-going basis of that society, and children are socialized into the norms and aspirations of its people. In order for that society to continue, the children must internalize its standards and values. Its members must be educated or socialized to continue to desire those things which are necessary for its continuance. Before a formal educational system was introduced in Papua New Guinea, the traditional knowledge and skills for basic village purposes were learned from parents, peers and relatives. Children were prepared for the society in which they lived, and traditional education was sufficient for village life. This traditional education, relevant for the maintenance of village society, could not cope effectively with rapid change. Influences of modernization made inroads into the homogeneous society, and an educational system was established whose values were competitive with and destructive of the former ones. Yet, full participation in "modern" society was and is being denied those same children whose values and aspirations were formed by the new educational system. Education of the young for adult roles which are subsequently denied is, according to the theory of "latent deviance", educating for revolution. This thesis has revealed some of the areas where the introduction of a western-oriented system has created insoluble divisions within the Indigenous society -- personally, socially and nationally.

EDUCATIONAL IMPERATIVES

National Planning is Essential

Many of these conflicts in the Papua New Guinea educational system can be attributed to the lack of planning and/or the lack of fundamental thinking concerning the basic purposes of education for the Indigenous population of Papua New Guinea. More important, many of the ambiguities and dilemmas were inherent in the colonial system and related back to policies concerning Indigenous welfare and development. Was development to take place as an adjunct to Australian development and for its benefit, or was development to be separate and distinct and for the Indigenous people? In 1968, Curtin made a distinction between these two types of development and stressed that decisions must be made in terms of one or the other criterion; to attempt both was clearly incompatible.

> ...In other words, the question is whether the new emerging community of indigenous people in Papua and New Guinea is recognized as a separate New Guinea entity, with its own interests and its own needs separate from and paramount over the general mixed expatriate-indigenous political system and economy operative in the Territory...
>
> Now, there is all the difference in the world between making indigenous participation one of the objectives of policy and on the other hand recognizing indigenous participation as the supreme over-riding objective and criterion of economic development. It is one thing to seek as much indigenous participation as possible within a programme of general development of the economy, it is quite another thing to make the development of the indigenous people the supreme aim of the policy.[1]

With the imminent coming of self-government to be followed soon by Independence, some of these former ambiguities in Papua New Guinea development will likely be solved unless the new Indigenous leaders fail to recognize the urgency of some clear, hard thinking concerning the future policies.

Galbraith contends that in the early stage of development, "plan creation is not properly a matter of economic planning at all...Rather it is to lay the administrative, social and educational groundwork for such advance."[2] However, on what basis should this groundwork be laid? On what principles can a new nation proceed with planning? It was clarified above that to be effective, development must have one target population; to try to develop dual economies or one economy for the maximum benefit of two diverse cultures, especially when one has control of the basic means of production, is inefficient, ineffective, and disfunctional to both.

One basic assumption of this thesis was that "the people" together with their representative government, must be in charge of planning for change. This basic assumption eliminates the alternative of one people planning for another. Goulet defines this process as, "Planning is democratic when it is controlled by and responsive to, all persons affected by its decisions."[3]

Step One: Stating National Philosophy and Priorities: Prior to even laying the administrative, social and educational groundwork, certain working priorities must be established. An emerging country must analyze the question, "What are the requirements of the good life and of the good society for our country in the modern world?"[4] These requirements for the good life become the basis for all decision-making concerning future policies and programs designed specifically to implement them -- developmental ethics. Often, in former colonial societies, the formulation of "what should be" was based in opposition to the dominant society or in the attempt to eradicate the inequalities resulting from it.

> Developmental ethics borrows freely from the work of economists, political scientists, sociologists, planners, and spokesmen for other disciplines. Although each discipline supplies its own definition of development, ethics places all definitions in a broad framework wherein development means, ultimately, the quality of life and the progress toward values

> capable of expression in various cultures. ...How development is gained is no less important than what benefits are obtained at the end...esteem and freedom for all individuals and societies must be optimized. Although development can be studied as an economic, political, educational, or social phenomenon, its ultimate goals are those of existence itself...[5]

The following ingredients of Tanzania's developmental ethics were enunciated by Julius Nyerere, and have become the basis for that country's developmental planning. They also seem to be particularly relevant to Papua New Guinea. However, each nation must develop its own creed in terms of its own particular situation.

> 1. ...any discussion about the appropriate economic and social organization must...be conducted within each nation state, and the decision must be made exclusively by the people of that nation...
> 2. ...all the peoples of the Third World desire to govern themselves, and want their country to be completely independent from external control...
> 3. ...to everyone in the Third World, the present degree of poverty, and the general lack of economic development is completely unacceptable...
> 4. (People of the Third World do not aim) to replace... alien rulers by local privileged elites, but to create societies which ensure human dignity and self-respect for all...every individual has the right to the maximum economic and political freedom which is compatible with equal freedom for others...[6]

Step Two: Analysis of the Status Quo: This second step is a kind of negative planning stage. An analysis of "what is" must be made in light of the previously established "what should be".

Step Three: Temporary Measures: This phase would be the formulation of measures to reduce the gap between "what is" (reality) and "what should be" (national vision). This process may involve temporary measures to eliminate perceived blockages in accomplishing the above goals, or it may be the adoption of short term goals necessary in maintaining the system until more comprehensive long-term planning can take place. Goulet calls a similar process "taking steps to free the present from the past".[7] It would seem that even at this stage, decisions made must be compatible with the basic beliefs. Any policies adopted must plan for the reduction of both social and economic inequalities; plans that create inequalities, even in the name of future good, are questionable and probably disfunctional in the long run; i.e., creation of privileged elites in order to have a basis for development.

If the structures that have been inherited from the colonial past are incompatible with future desires and plans, then it will become necessary to revamp them into structures that are workable for the new country -- or to create new ones. To fail to recognize and act upon this basic necessity will leave Indigenous leaders in the difficult position of trying to carry on structures and programs designed by others, whose purposes were not centered in Indigenous needs, and which are too complex for management by Indigenes. Again, Curtin believed that the creation of non-Indigenous structures was wrong.

> ...Economically, this is a mistake, while from a social and

> political point of view we are in danger of building an economy to which New Guinea society will be unable to adapt itself, and which the New Guinea statesmen of the future will be unable to control.[8]

Step Four: Creation of a Functional System: This step could be termed the beginning, rather than the end. It is more than a patch-work revision of old-structures, however crucial this step may be. It is the creation of a blueprint for a future society which corresponds functionally with the nation's creed. This plan would realistically assess the nation's resources, physical and human, and then design structures which are complementary to each other and to the overall purposes. It is a type of systems approach where each part is analyzed in terms of its relationship to the whole. It is a dynamic, interactive, renewable structure based both on the past and upon the future.. Utopian though it may be, few developed countries have the unique opportunity to create a dynamic society in terms of their dreams.

The Role of Education to Development

However, it is not the purpose of this thesis to analyze planning techniques, but it is essential to establish the vital and dynamic relationship between education and national goals. If education does not base its own goals in those of the nation, then the educational system will be irrelevant to or even destructive of the national purposes. In order to judge whether education is truly serving the needs of the people, it is necessary to re-examine the purpose of education for a developing country. Is it different from the purpose of education in a developed one? Gunnar Myrdal affirmed the inter-disciplinary aspects of development when he discussed the concept of "vicious cycles" of development,[9] and he emphasized that education cannot be separated from the social, economic and political problems of a nation.

Education and Social Change: Education, a tool for social change or social rigidity, has been an age-old debate. It is easier to think of education as an end in itself, rather than a tool to be used purposefully for specific means. Whether education reflects or directs social change is an obviously political question and is therefore avoided by many educational planners, especially in a country wealthy enough to afford a "laisse faire" stance. In a newly-developing country, with scarce resources, fuzzy thinking or lack of planning is a luxury it can ill afford. Whether one faces the question intelligently or in ignorance, it is inescapable that education does influence the direction of society. How it will influence it remains the significant question. Dewey, an early educational philosopher, argued for clear and informed thinking in terms of educational planning.

> (Education can)...influence in different ways and to different ends, and the important thing is to become conscious of these different ways and ends, so that an intelligent choice may be made, and so that if opposed choices are made, the future conflict may at least be carried on with understanding of what is at stake, and not in the dark.[10]

Education: A Purposeful Tool of Development: Most development writers would agree with Gunnar Myrdal when he claimed that the purpose of education in an emerging country must be much more narrowly defined than education in a developed society. While education can be analyzed in terms of consumption in a developed country, this becomes a luxury in an emerging one; it must relate specifically to development and to investment terminology. "No value attached to education is valid if it conflicts with the value of education as an instrument for development."[11]

However, the sterile, one to one, relationship between investment in education and increased gross national product, which many economists assumed in the 1950's and 1960's, proved to be inaccurate or at least not comprehensive enough. It was an example of the myopic vision of specialists which Coombs discussed.[12]

Education is much more than the impartation of skills and knowledge, which the manpower type of planning posits as being necessary for development; it also influences attitudes and is the perpetuator of cultural heritage. Obviously, education, per se, is theoretically without value. However, once utilized by humans for any social purpose, it becomes the tool of those who wield it, and the attitudes and values of the educator are implicit in all knowledge transfer, whether or not this is recognized by the educator. As John Dewey argues, one must be aware of all the potential learning taking place, whether one intends the specific transmission or not. To be aware of the possibility of one's tools is to be professional; to be unaware is to muddle ineffectively (or destructively) in areas which relate to education or to merely promote the linear expansion of existing educational systems, believing that expansion in itself is sufficient for development.

The role of education, then, in a developing nation such as Papua New Guinea is much more demanding than its role in a developed society. "It must become the searching critic of the educational status quo and the cutting edge for a new strategy of educational innovation and change."[13] Societies which are attempting to creatively construct their future, rather than merely reacting to external or internal forces, demand a great deal from their educational system.

> ...Dynamic and progressive nations demand...an educational system that will take leadership in piloting and manning a future which will assure a better life to all. Thus ...(the) educational purpose is the same as the national purpose: to create a good society and good life for all its members and to use all the intellectual and moral resources man has developed, all the resources he is capable of developing, in the pursuit of this goal...
> ...the orientation of education...must always be...toward the future. Such an education will not discard the heritage of the past; rather it will draw virility from the strengths that existed in its heritage, but demand that the very strengths of this heritage meet the terms of new times. Such an education will not ignore active participation in the world of today, for only by participation in the life of the people can strengths be maintained and sensitivities sharpened. But its sharpest focus will be upon contribution, contribution in terms of solving the problems of today and building the better world of tomorrow. In essence, the national purpose of education is to equip people to participate in, and contribute to, the modernization process...the process of creating a type of life that will bear the imprint of traditional strengths even as it adapts new stratagems and technologies to its corporate life.[14]

A Functional Definition: Education for Nationhood: President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania had a specific set of educational criteria in mind when he wrote that the end goal of education is

> ...to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership in the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development.[15]

The definition is two-fold: it gives equal importance to both aspects necessary for the continuation and/or development of that society: first, the transmission and perpetuation of a specific cultural heritage and, second, the imparting of skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary for development. This definition implies that education must supply the attitudes and abilities not only to cope with change, but to actively participate in the developmental process. It is clear that Nyerere is seeking to utilize the strengths of his country's traditional culture in order to build a future that is uniquely Tanzanian.

An educational system such as described above must be defined in terms of its own people and their needs, rather than in terms of the needs of a nation who may be advising them. If education is to play that key role of preparing young people for participation in their own society, then that nation's educational system must reflect national goals. The curricula must reflect these goals, and the teacher must function as an agent of nationalization; he must be the connecting link between educational theory, educational policy and the practical realities of nation building. The emerging society will not be static and inflexible, as traditional societies are usually characterized, nor will it seek wholesale westernization, but will be a unique blending of the old with the new.

> The guideline for finding this delicate balance of old and new is vague, as each developing nation is basically different. Aspirations, political organizations, economic structures and histories, being different, require different measures. Ultimately, the decision must rest in a somewhat philosophical base -- what Dudley Seers states as the goal of development "...the realization of the potential of human personality". Speaking of development, he emphasizes that decisions made for the development of a nation must involve what is happening to the development of its citizens. Decisions that basically are harmful to the "realization of human potential" cannot, in the long run, be sound decisions for the nation.[16]

EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVES

Colonial education in Papua New Guinea has been examined in this thesis, and some major areas have been discussed where western-type education is disfunctional for the purposes of a developing country and for educating Indigenous people for their role in society. This section will examine in some detail three alternative approaches to education, each progressively more revolutionary educationally. Two of these were attempts to plan an educational system that was directly functional to the needs of an underdeveloped country -- Tanzania and China. The third approach is more radical; it is a call for the de-schooling of society altogether. Ivan Illich based his speculations on extensive work and study in Puerto Rico and Latin America where the gap between the uneducated and the educated is visibly widening, bringing with it all the inter-related social, economic and political problems. Illich claims that these problems are also inherent, but less visible, in a developed society. He believes that his de-schooling plan is one alternative for the future when existing educational systems can no longer function. And so, this analysis of western-type educational systems and their problems has come full-circle, beginning with underdeveloped countries and ending in developed ones, where the same problems exist, but in different proportions.

No one approach has found answers to all these problems. In fact, dilemmas are defined as being solutionless. Perhaps that is why it is imperative to search for the underlying causal factors before modifying problematic systems or before proposing solutions that only perpetuate existing dilemmas. As long as nations have different purposes, each educational system must be tailored to those specific needs. Each section, therefore, includes a discussion of the problems which the new, or the revised, educational system was attempting to solve. It is interesting to note the similarity of educational problems in each of these alternatives and the progressively more encompassing measures adopted for their solution.

Tanzania -- A Model for Self-Reliant Development

Ujamma -- The Basis of African Socialism: The National Goal:

Tanzania is a poor, undeveloped, and agricultural country, but one with a unique experiment in autonomous national planning. Recently freed from external colonial control, Tanzania attempted to realistically assess its assets and liabilities in terms of world development. It concluded that if it was to remain independent, it would have to literally "pick itself up by its own bootstraps", as external developmental aid was often tied to dependent, rather than independent, conditions. "Self-Reliance" became the over-riding motto of future planning. These steps closely parallel the four developmental steps previously discussed.

First, Nyerere broadly outlined Tanzania's developmental ethics. These principles became the guidelines for the shape his society was to take -- guidelines that were both desirable and realistic for Tanzania, given their present condition of poverty and the dim future prospects of rapid development, within their principle of self-reliance.

Planning attempted to draw from their traditional heritage that part of African society which was strong and upon which new social structures could be built. Ujamma is the African term for familyhood; strong kinship and community ties linked individuals together within working units. The traditional society had assumed that all individuals would contribute to the production of village wealth, each according to his ability, and each member was cared for by the village, according to his need -- a reciprocal arrangement. This is not to suggest that village life was ideal; there were many disadvantages, two of which Nyerere identified as extreme poverty and the low status of women. Nevertheless, what is important here is that the basic concepts of the proposed modernization came from within the Indigenous culture.

Incorporated within the concept of Ujamma was also the democratic ideal of the worth of each individual as a participating member of his society, an embryonic idea of the brotherhood of all man. "Nobody starved, either of food or of human dignity, because he lacked personal wealth."[17] Therefore, the concept of Ujamma provided security for each individual as well as social unity; it provided satisfaction for the need for dependency on the community as well as responsibility to it.

> We, in Africa, have no more need of being "converted" to socialism than we have of being "taught" democracy. Both are rooted in our own past -- in the traditional society that produced us. Modern African socialism can draw from its traditional heritage the recognition of "society" as an extension of the basic family unit, but it can no longer confine the idea of social family within the limits of the tribe, nor, indeed, of the nation.[18]

Consideration for the welfare of every individual, within the needs of society, was primary to development, and was based on three basic principles:

1. equality and respect for human dignity;
2. sharing resources produced by united efforts;
3. work by everyone and exploitation by none.[19]

Ujamma described the positive aspects upon which African socialism would be built; at the same time it described those negative aspects of capitalism and socialism which it was rejecting. According to Nyerere, African socialism is:

> ...opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man, and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable

conflict between man and man.[20]

Educational Goals -- Related to National Goals: Discussion of educational planning will follow the steps previously described in the planning process.

"What Should Be", or Step One.- Only when Tanzania was clear on national goals could they begin to formulate education objectives. Based upon national objectives, and grounded in traditional concepts, the goals for education were related both to the social or attitudinal aspects of education as well as to the knowledge and skills aspect. Nyerere clearly ties educational and national goals together.

> Education provided by Tanzania for the students of Tanzania must serve the purposes of Tanzania. It must encourage the growth of the socialist values we aspire to. It must encourage the development of a proud, independent, and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development, and which knows the advantages of and the problems of cooperation. It must ensure that the educated know themselves to be an integral part of the nation and recognize the responsibility to give greater service the greater the opportunities they have had.
>
> This is not only a matter of school organization and curriculum. Social values are formed by family, school, and society -- by the total environment in which a child develops. But it is no use our educational system stressing values and knowledge appropriate to the past or to the citizens in other countries; It is wrong if it even contributes to the continuation of those inequalities and privileges which still exist in our society because of our inheritance. Let our students be educated to be members and servants of the kind of just and egalitarian future to which this country aspires.[21]

"What Is": Step Two - In contrast, Tanzania's colonial education was not functional to the new African Socialism which Tanzania wished to develop. It was not:

> ...designed to prepare young people for the service of their country; instead, it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state. In these countries the state interest in education therefore stemmed from the need for local clerks and junior officials; on top of that, various religious groups were interested in spreading literacy and other education as part of their evangelical work -- modelled on the British system, but with heavier emphasis on subservient attitudes and on white-collar skills. Inevitably, too, it was based on the assumptions of a colonialist and capitalist society. It emphasized and encouraged the individualistic instincts of mankind, instead of his cooperative instincts. It led to the possession of individual material wealth being the major criterion of social merit and worth.[22]

Instead, colonial education introduced attitudes of human inequality; it taught domination of the weak by the strong; it was a deliberate attempt to transplant the values and knowledge of a traditional society with those of a different society. Analysis of the system revealed that there were four specific major areas which were disfunctional to the emerging nation.[23]

1. Tanzanian education was elitist. The basis of the primary school was the preparation for secondary school.

> In other words, the education now provided is designed for the few who are intellectually stronger than their fellows; it induces among those who succeed a feeling of superiority, and leaves the majority of the others hankering after something they will never obtain. It induces a feeling of inferiority among the majority, and can thus not produce the egalitarian society we should build, nor the attitudes of mind which are conducive to an egalitarian society. On the contrary, it induces the growth of a class structure...[24]

2. Tanzanian education divorced its participants from the society for which it was supposed to be preparing them. Schools, especially secondary, were not part of society; instead, it was believed by parents and students that schooling would make it unnecessary for them to be farmers or to live in the village. High school graduates had spent their life separate from the village in an educational enclave; they had never fully participated in their family's poverty; they were more at home in the world of the educated, and, because of this separate life, they grew to believe that they were superior to those not educated. Parents and relatives also supported the student's inflated ideas of who he was and regarded it as wrong that he should live and work as ordinary people.

3. Tanzanian education promoted the myth that all worthwhile knowledge comes from books or from educated people. Traditional knowledge was despised, while it was assumed that anyone with "proper" qualifications could do a job. Nyerere felt that both types of thinking were in error. Tanzania's people must be judged on the basis of experience and wisdom as well as paper credentials. Government had also promoted this feeling of book knowledge superiority when it gave preference to Europeans or to educated elites, even if there were others "less schooled" who could perform the same work equally well.

4. Tanzanian education removed some of the healthiest and strongest citizens from active production for the length of their education. In addition to Tanzania losing their potential capacity for increased production, these young people learned to consume the production of others. They learned not to work, nor were their services available to the general good during vacation times unless they were highly paid for their efforts. The idea of service to the people or dedication to one's country were not motivating factors among the educated.

Temporary Measures: Step Three - Education which had been effectively serving a colonial purpose became disfunctional for the purposes of a free nation committed to equality and dignity for all its citizens. Temporary measures were introduced to mitigate some of the glaring inequalities of the previous system.

1. Racial distinctions within education were abolished and complete integration of all systems was introduced; racial or religious discrimination was eliminated.
2. Educational facilities at secondary and post secondary institutions were expanded to provide a basis for future leadership.
3. Education became more Tanzanian in content.[25]

Yet, all these changes were clearly modifications of "instrumental goals" rather than an examination of "terminal goals". Bacchus discussed the concept of instrumental and terminal goals in a critical analysis of

"Education and Change".[26] Instrumental goals can be considered the means to a specific end, while terminal goals are the ultimate desired result of a process. Much of educational improvement in developing countries has been the exchange of one set of instrumental goals for another. For example, any change in content to make an adopted curriculum more Tanzanian is a laudable effort, but it stops short of critically examining the end value (terminal goals) of the system or of that specific curriculum. The question must be asked, "What positive, relevant learnings which specifically relate to the new purposes of Tanzania are being fostered?" If the curriculum is basically irrelevant to the new purposes, or disfunctional, then that curriculum should be replaced with another that is specifically designed for local purposes. In Tanzania's case, adaption was not enough. Nyerere realized this when he wrote that the three measures were temporary. Tanzania must think seriously about the basic question:

> What is the educational system in Tanzania intended to do -- what is its purpose? Having decided that, we have to look at the relevance of existing structure and content of Tanzanian education for the task it has to do. In the light of that examination we can consider whether, in our present circumstances, further modifications are required or whether we need a change in the whole approach.[27]

Creation of New System: Step 4 - Tanzania ultimately decided that they needed a new approach to education that would eliminate past inequalities while forging new attitudes and skills necessary for development. Accepting poverty as a limiting factor in the provision of educational services, it was apparent that universal primary education was not yet possible, and only a few of those students completing primary school could go on to secondary; fewer yet to university. Since education had to be of service to all, not just to those who directly benefited, each level of education would have to be a complete unit in itself. It must prepare students for immediate usefulness upon graduation from that level. If one were privileged to go on, it would be with the clear understanding that privilege contained responsibility for service to the community as one member of that community.

To implement this new emphasis, new educational goals were set. The social goals were to foster skills of:

> ...living together, and working together, for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group, and which progress is measured in terms of human well-being... Our education must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community, and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future.[28]

Therefore, social education must:

1. encourage cooperative endeavour, not individual advancement,
2. provide equality,
3. encourage responsibility to give service which goes with special ability, and
4. counteract the temptation of intellectual arrogance.

The purpose of education must also be to give students the skills and knowledge to realistically work in the actual society in which they must participate -- a rural society where development will, of necessity, depend on the cooperative efforts of people in agriculture and village life.

> The education provided must...encourage the development in each citizen of three things: an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of the society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains.[29]

Therefore, skill and knowledge education must create good farmers with skills and experience who are:

1. able to think for themselves,
2. able to make judgements on issues,
3. able to interpret decisions made by government, and
4. skillful in implementing things in light of local circumstances.

There were three major organizational areas which had to be changed to fit the concept of self-reliance: the organization of the school system, the content of the curriculum, and the age of entry to primary school.

> But although these aspects are in some ways separate, they are also interlocked. We cannot integrate the pupils and students into the future society simply by theoretical teaching, however well designed it is. Neither can the society fully benefit from an educational system which is thoroughly integrated into local life but does not teach people the basic skills -- for example, of literacy and arithmetic, or which fails to excite in them a curiosity about ideas. Nor can we expect those finishing primary schools to be useful young citizens if they are still only 12 or 13 years of age.[30]

School had been organized so that they were separate and distinct from village and village life. The new schools would become a viable part of the community.

> The teachers, workers, and pupils together must be members of a social unit in the same way as parents, relatives and children are the family social unit... and the former community must realize just as the latter do that their life and well being depend upon the production of wealth by farming or other activities.[31]

Each school was to provide for its own upkeep as well as contribute something to the national income. It was expected that the school children would interact with the local community in using services and skills of the local areas, as well as providing services to it. In these ways, children were learning by doing, practicing concepts that were learned in the classroom. Decision-making was theirs within a certain amount of direction and discipline from the teacher. Each school was an integration of the needs of the local community with the educational needs of the children. Therefore, each school would be unique, planned according to local needs, but united in terms of overall goals, procedures and basic regulations. These would be coordinated through a central education agency.

The curriculum was revised at each level to include only those subjects which would be directly relevant for the life of the majority of the graduates. One of the basic curriculum changes in the elementary school was the exchange of English as the language of instruction, for Swahili, a nationwide trade language. It was believed that it was essential that children learn to read and write in Swahili. It has been established by educators that the basic elements of a culture are most effectively taught in the language of that culture. The obvious difficulties involved in teaching each child in his own village language make the use of Swahili a good compromise between the Indigenous village language and a foreign language. For the same reasons, the history of Tanzania and the workings of government are also being taught in Swahili. In addition, basic arithmetic concepts and agricultural skills necessary to earn a living would complete the elementary school curriculum. Criterion for learning would no longer be based on what was necessary to know to pass the Standard 6 examination, but upon what a child must know to become a happy, functioning citizen.

Subjects such as health, science, geography and beginning English would be introduced very late in the curriculum, not for mastery, but in recognition that learning is continuous. These subjects, once introduced and made familiar, could be pursued according to the student's individual interests and needs outside of the classroom.

Obviously, details for each school would have to be different; urban schools must make a special effort to become familiar with and to appreciate rural life, but their emphasis would probably include production activities, rather than agriculture.

The school entry age was considered to be one of the major factors in the problems of the Standard 6 Leaver. When a child enters school at the age of 5, he has not learned much of village life, and he is still very young when he has finished elementary school. It was felt that raising this age to 7 would result in more mature graduates. Since educational programs and goals were also revised, it will be interesting to see if these changes actually have an influence in mitigating some of the village and national social problems created by the Standard 6 Leaver. It would seem logical that an even higher school entry age would not be out of line with the educational goals, as older children often learn more quickly. During the time prior to school entry, the child could become thoroughly familiar with village culture, heritage and Indigenous skills and crafts. Village pre-school groups would be valuable here.

Some Problems

By 1967, Nyerere still had not conclusively solved the problem of how selection would be made to the next level of schooling. He had acknowledged previously the disfunctional aspects of standard examinations, but did not eliminate them entirely. He wanted to re-design the Standard 6 examination to test the new kinds of learnings which were being taught in the re-designed curriculum. Inherent in this decision, it seems, lies the same dilemma which Tanzania was trying to eliminate. If children are selected to go on to the next level on the basis of even a revised examination, still the most successful learners (potentially the best farmers) are being taken away from this productive aspect. Instead, the least successful learners (hence the least successful potential farmers) are being left to do the farming. If agriculture is truly the basis of the future development of Tanzania, then depriving this area of the brightest students may be counterproductive in the long run.

In addition, the psychological and sociological aspects noted before in the problems of the Standard 6 Leaver will still be functioning; there will be successes and failures. Despite the rural curriculum, aspirations will be toward further education since that is a sign of "success" or of "intelligence". Successes will go on to a different type of life. Even if they contribute to the village upon returning, their life styles will be tangibly different than those who did not pass the examinations. By changing the educational system -- the organization, curriculum, and school entry age -- Nyerere was attempting to also change the motivational structure. Students should aspire to be agriculturalists. However, the best agriculturalists will be chosen for "another life". (It would be interesting if only "failures" were chosen to go on; the successful ones having the privilege of becoming farmers!) His motivational structure is basically left unchanged, though modified. Some attempts have been made to freeze salaries of civil service workers, especially in rural areas. His bold experiment in re-designing the political, economic and educational systems of Tanzania may fail because of his lack of dealing with the heart of the motivational factor.

In 1967, six years after its tentative beginnings, the system was re-evaluated. This period had been one of great educational growth -- measured in terms of number of students being given elementary education. There were three times as many pupils in Standard 5, compared with 1961, and students were progressing at all levels. It is interesting too, that in spite of Nyerere's creative innovations educationally, his success can still only be measured in numbers of students being educated. Within the report was a negative note that supports the difficulties noted in changing motivation from self to group.

> At the same time, hidden within the successes of the past few years, there has been an element of failure, the failure to ensure that all our pupils are educated to be members and servants of the kind of socialist society to which this country aspires. It is an unfortunate fact of life in most developing countries, that the more one motivates a child to academic higher learning...the greater his frustration and feeling of rejection when he joins the ranks of the urban unemployed. Hence too great an emphasis upon the traditional concept of education, as a source of moral enrichment, cultural awareness and aesthetic satisfaction, can become harmful to a society as a whole, when not accompanied by a simultaneous improvement of material living standards.[32]

Social change cannot be realized overnight. Children are products of not only the school, but of the community and home or family as well. For change to be effective, socialization patterns must be as continuous as possible from home to school to work; and these socialization patterns begin even in the early child raising patterns of the adults. Children's attitudes toward education and work can be no better than the attitudes of their socializing agents.

> Every adult Tanzanian, therefore, share the responsibility for forming attitudes in our youth. "Service before self" and "self-reliance" are ideals that are much better inspired by example than by words.[33]

How will the socializing agents become re-socialized? One advantage in Tanzania is that the new political and social concepts which they are attempting to promote were based in traditional life; they needed only to be re-structured to fit into the national plan. It would seem that the teacher must play a crucial role as an agent of social change, and the training of

Indigenous teachers becomes a major part of the nation's modernization process. The time gap between training teachers who can promote this new attitude and producing students who have been trained in the "new way" is considerable; meanwhile, other measures have to be utilized to diffuse throughout the community and the nation the attitudinal changes necessary for Nyerere's new kind of development.

China -- A Model of Education for Continuing Cultural Revolution

The second nation which has attempted to utilize the educational system as a tool of reform and of development is China. Many of Tanzania's educational reforms are very similar to China's, although China's reforms, in contrast, deal with vast numbers of people.

Prior to the Cultural Revolution, educational, social and political problems in China presented a strikingly similar parallel to conditions in developing countries with colonial masters, such as Papua New Guinea and Tanzania. While the rulers of China were not European, but Chinese, education had been the privilege of a few; it had reinforced status and economic privilege. An old woman of China said, "The traditional rulers liked to keep us illiterate so that we would not demand our rights and make trouble for them."[34] It is estimated that in 1948, 80 per cent of the Chinese were illiterate.[35]

Hand in hand with educational privilege went power, and the educated used their power to rule China for their own interests and profit. When the Cultural Revolution changed this power structure, the function of education also had to change. Rather than serving the interests of a few privileged elite, as it had previously done, the educational system had to be restructured to serve the interests of all the people.[36] This new purpose of education became the underlying philosophy, basic to all the changes and to further educational planning.

Educational Goals

In re-designing the educational system, it was believed that the philosophy, goals, and programs of education must be interlocked. Since education was to serve the interests of all, it must be designed as a tool for China's development; it must not create conditions that would be counter-productive. Educational innovations were designed specifically to implement three very basic goals of education which were derived from the revolutionary philosophy.

1. to train people with skills as well as theory which would be immediately useful in solving economic and social problems;
2. to motivate the young people to serve the people of China, rather than to pursue self-interests of material comforts or personal prestige; and
3. to make Chinese society more egalitarian by expanding equal educational opportunity to the peasant and to the working class families.[37]

Therefore, in its most synthesized form, the aim of Chinese education was to provide equal opportunity for all to develop the attitudes, knowledge, and skills which are necessary for the development of China. The ensuing educational debates centered around the proper methods for implementing the philosophy and goals, not in the goals themselves. Each educational decision was made in terms of this underlying philosophy, and goals and programs were evaluated in terms of whether their results correspond with the accepted goals.

There are three levels of education: primary, middle school and university. At each level, students are expected to work in addition to their regular studies. This is done in order for them to associate theory with its practical outcome and in order to elevate manual labor to a respectable level in the eyes of the students.

Primary Level: At the early stage, education is primarily ideological and attitudinal. It is felt that the first priority should be a proper political and mental outlook -- proper, that is, for the Chinese. Each school is fairly autonomous, rather than being under a centralized department of education. Schools are run by a local committee, and differences between schools result from differing local needs and conditions. Teachers are employed by the local committee and participate as a member of the community. They are no longer moved frequently. Teachers are usually chosen after having shown a particular interest and sensitivity to children, their qualifications are secondary considerations. "Since the Cultural Revolution, the amount of training teachers receive has ranged all the way from university graduation to short-term training classes and 'learning from practice'."[38] Local peasants are used for much of the practical and historical teaching. Textbooks are being drafted by each district for their own use and will be reviewed periodically to determine if the material is locally relevant within the overall aims of education.

The curriculum is composed of politics, Chinese language, Chinese culture, physical education, math and art. In the fifth grade, two subjects are added: English and "Common Knowledge", which includes subjects like mechanics, agriculture, natural science. Two months of each year will be spent working in agriculture or in factories, the timing and scheduling of which depends on local conditions. During this time, educational materials relating to their work will be used in place of regular classroom studies.

Much of education at this stage is still experimental; various materials and methods are being explored under the basic principle of tying theory with practice.

> ...But certain things have already been decided. All marks have been abolished. Also all homework. Pupils do not merely have the right to help each other when doing their exercises, etc.; they are under a positive obligation to do so. Everyone in the class moves up to the next class. Pupils who find study difficult are not kept back or expelled from the class. It is their comrades' and teachers' duty to help them. Pupils must not compete with one another -- they should help each other. Competition, marks, and examinations lay the basis for a fundamentally wrong attitude to life.[39]

During this time, attitude development is extremely important and is actively promoted in all areas of school activities. Helping one's group is considered to be more important than winning. Competition is rejected in favor of straightforward mutual help and cooperation. This attitude toward cooperation contrasts markedly with the highly individualistic and competitive orientation of western schools and also with the Soviet Union's emphasis of cooperation within groups, but fierce competition between groups.[40]

Middle School: In many areas, middle schools have been established in the same neighborhoods as the primary schools, and the class goes on to the next level as a cohort. All entrance examinations have been abolished as well as the practice of applying for entrance to certain schools considered to be superior. In this way, middle level schools are heterogeneous and as egalitarian as possible. In rural areas, where fewer middle schools are available, children are required to work for at least two years in agriculture. Following this period, the working cohort decides on who of their group is best suited to continue their education in middle school. It is hoped, however, that soon middle school places will be available to all.[41]

At this secondary level, literature, physics, chemistry and basic agricultural knowledge are added to a continuation of the primary school curriculum. There is great stress on politics; children are taught to read and analyze political works and make practical application and criticism of themselves and others. And again, students spend time working. One month a year they work in a factory or shop and one month in farming. Creativity is not limited to artistic endeavours, but is thought to be the solving of real problems in production. What students make or grow during work activities is actually used. In this way, learning by doing is realistic, not artificial.

People from the community are invited into the classroom to participate as often as possible. It is believed that this interaction strengthens links between the school and society, makes education more concrete and less abstract, and gives the children a realistic background for adult life.[42]

Students finishing the middle level school go to work following graduation. Their skills are immediately available for industry or for agriculture. They are not expected to be high level experts, but neither do they need a period of extensive job training, as school has already provided the necessary basic skills. Urban students are encouraged to re-settle in rural areas, an attempt to spread technical skills and manpower to less developed areas.

University: During the revolution, the universities were closed, and the young people were sent to work. Slowly, the universities are being re-opened, but with new guidelines, curricula, and entrance requirements. Each university department decides on how many places it has available for the following year, and a university admissions committee allocates a certain number of these to each province. The local area committee distributes these places among the factories, agricultural communes, and the army units. Individuals within these groups who wish to attend university may then apply, and the unit's members decide on which of their colleagues should represent them at the university. The names from all these units are then submitted back to the university, which has the final authority to confirm or deny entrance to university.[43]

This new method for university entrance removes requirements from an emphasis on academic qualifications to an emphasis on non-academic ones; education, experience and health are all factors in the final decision, as well as attitudes toward work and towards service to one's fellow man and to the country as a whole.

> The general rule is that no student is accepted directly after middle-school graduation. They all have been working in factories, farms, or the army long enough to have learned how to relate to ordinary working people. But perhaps most important, they have seen for themselves the immediate pressing problems of their society. Thus they come to the university with the intention to learn skills which can help solve these problems. The hope is that these individuals will be more mature, more broadly experienced, and more highly motivated...than their...predecessors...[44]

During the study and planning interim when universities were closed, much planning and re-education went on. Professors themselves were required to re-orient their thinking and their courses so that university education would also be in accordance with national goals and would promote an egalitarian society. During this time, and continuing after it, students, soldiers, and workers participated with the professional educators in the planning and in the decision making in order to "keep educational interests from becoming too narrow".[45]

University education has been shortened so that students can quickly get back to production. Education in China is a means to an end, not an end in itself. Therefore, university education involves intense study in philosophical, political and cultural thought as well as practical experience in their chosen specialty as part of their learning process. Factories and shops are an adjunct to all university fields with the exception of the arts and languages departments where implementation of knowledge is a bit more intangible. Experimentation in this area is continuing.

A special priority program in China, which provides even more diversity at a higher educational level, is one which allows mature, veteran workers to become students at the university, while being paid by their work units or by the government.

> Not only do older workers come to the universities, but the universities also go to the workers. Some larger factories have established their own institutions of higher learning to train technicians and designers from among the ranks of ordinary workers. This is not a new idea; some factories have long sponsored primary and middle schools for workers wishing to study in their spare time. Running a university is a much more ambitious project... Even more exciting is the belief that ordinary workers can be trained as technical experts.[46]

In Summary: Thus, the educational system of China is a planned, integrated attempt to eradicate previous programs and practices which were believed to be disfunctional to the new aims of society. In addition, it was an attempt to create citizens whose attitudes, skills and knowledge were directly beneficial to that society, and who would equally benefit from the results of their cooperative endeavours.

> ...Although Chinese society is largely decentralized to encourage local self-sufficiency and diversification, the whole is knit together by an administrative structure that is more or less uniform from city to city and, somewhat less, from commune...to commune. It is a framework that provides an efficient system of communication and has helped produce a remarkable social cohesion based on commonly held goals and values...[47]

Deschooling Society: A Plan for Educational Revolution

One of the most controversial critics of the educational system is Ivan Illich. He does not believe that the school system as presently structured can provide universal education, no matter in what form it is administered.

> Universal education through schooling is not feasible. It would be no more feasible if it were attempted by means of alternative institutions built on the style of present schools. Neither new attitudes of teachers toward their pupils nor the proliferation of educational hardware or software..., nor finally the attempt to expand the pedagogue's responsibility until it engulfs his pupils' lifetimes will deliver universal education.[48]

He believes that the search for "educational funnels" has only increased the problems which he sees as being inherent in any school system. These problems are dealt with at length in his book, Deschooling Society, where he argues that the system is also destructive of human values and promotes social inequality. It is impossible to convey the power of his arguments in a short space, but it is necessary to attempt to outline a few of his major arguments which are the basis of his proposal for deschooling society.

The educational system is disfunctional. For many of the following reasons, Illich would argue that the educational system is producing results that are in opposition to a democratic society. The present school system is economically unfeasible. School costs have risen faster than enrollments and faster even than the gross national products of countries.[49] This is true in most countries, although the problem becomes critical in a very poor country similar to Papua New Guinea whose economy is not even based on its own local resources, but upon outside assistance. It would be an illusion to believe that an Independent Papua New Guinea could maintain its present standard of educational expenditures. Even the present level (with help) is not enough to provide universal education in that country.

He believes that the paradox of the school system is very evident: universal education cannot be produced and that increased expenditures only escalates the destructiveness of the system.

The present school system maintains social class (caste) structures and creates caste systems where there were none (few). It effectively stratifies class along educational levels; the number of years of schooling one has, not his skill level, becomes the basis of all job opportunity and job mobility. Education then becomes a tool of social class. As children are funnelled through the school system, the education of the few is paid for by the many, especially at the higher levels. In addition, further opportunity to learn is also controlled by the number of previous years of schooling. He cites Latin America as an example of countries which have progressed only slightly ahead of classical poverty. Ironically, he sees classical poverty as at least being stable and less disabling than the following stages of economic growth.

> Most countries in Latin America have reached the "take-off" point toward economic development and competitive consumption, and thereby toward modernized poverty: their citizens have learned to think rich and live poor... In these countries the majority is already hooked on school, that is, they are schooled in a sense of inferiority toward the better-schooled. Their fanaticism in favor of schooling makes it possible to exploit them doubly: it permits increasing allocation of public funds for the education of a few and increasing acceptance of social control by the many.
>
> Paradoxically, the belief that universal schooling is absolutely necessary is most firmly held in those countries where the fewest people have been -- and will be -- served by schools.[50]

Not only are the people, as individuals, categorized by years of schooling into social classes, but also the system "grades the nations of the world according to an international caste system. Countries are rated like castes whose educational dignity is determined by the average years of schooling of its citizens..."[51]

The present school system creates a myth of unending consumption. Like the economic system, the unending spiral of consumption feeds on itself and perpetuates more and more.

> This modern myth is grounded in the belief that process inevitably produces something of value and, therefore, production necessarily produces demand. School teaches us that instruction produces learning. The existence of schools produces the demand for schooling. Once we have learned to need school, all our activities tend to take the shape of client relationships to other specialized institutions. Once the self-taught man or woman has been discredited, all nonprofessional activity is rendered suspect. In school we are taught that valuable learning is the result of attendance; that the value of learning increases with the amount of input; and finally, that this value can be measured and documented by grades and certificates.[52]

He further elaborates on this point later in his book:

> Schools are designed on the assumption that there is a secret to everything in life; that the quality of life depends on knowing that secret; that secrets can be known only in orderly successions; that only teachers can properly reveal these secrets. An individual with a schooled mind conceives of the world as a pyramid of classified packages accessible only to those who carry the proper tags.[53]

The present school system improperly equates learning with instruction. Learning, he claims, is erroneously equated with years of schooling (which could be, but is not necessarily true) and thereby with certification procedures. He claims that most learning is incidental to school or in spite of it, yet the school has the monopoly on certification procedures, thereby maintaining social control. There is little possibility that a non-schooled, but skilled person, would be certified by the system.

> Neither learning nor justice is promoted by schooling because educators insist on packaging instruction with certification. Learning and the assignment of social roles are melted into schooling. Yet to learn means to acquire a new skill or insight, while promotion depends on an opinion which others have formed. Learning frequently is the result of instruction, but selection for a role or category in the job market increasingly depends on mere length of attendance.[54]

The present school system creates the desire for the goods and services that go with social class, via education, yet the possibility of their fulfillment is very small for the majority of people.

> Half of the people in our world never set foot in school. They have no contact with teachers, and they are deprived of the privilege of becoming dropouts. Yet they learn quite effectively the message which school teaches; that they should have school and more and more of it. School instructs

> them in their own inferiority through the tax collector who makes them pay for it, or through the demagogue who raises their expectations of it, or through their children once the latter are hooked on it. So the poor are robbed of their self-respect by subscribing to a creed that grants salvation only through the school.[55]

Therefore, people and nations are taught to be desirous of and to measure their own worth by "an impossible dream". The denial of these expectations can result not only in a loss of human dignity and self-esteem, but in goods and opportunities available only to the "schooled".

The present school system bases all learning on a high degree of people manipulation and control. It tells them not only what they must know, but legislates the manner in which it is to be learned. People are pushed, pulled, rewarded or punished in order to get them to "learn" what the system dictates as being essential learning. However, Ivan Illich believes that:

> ...learning is the human activity which least needs manipulation by others. Most learning is not the result of instruction. It is rather the result of unhampered participation in a meaningful setting. Most people learn best by being "with it". Yet school makes them identify their personal, cognitive growth with elaborate planning and manipulation.[56]

Creation of Educational Webs: However, Illich is more than a social critic, he is also the possible creator of new social and educational forms. He would ~~like~~ to transform the current search for educational funnels into a creation of educational webs, linking people and learning opportunities together in a non-structured manner. He believes that the inverse of school is possible:

> ...that we can depend on self-motivated learning instead of employing teachers to bribe or compel the student to find the time and will to learn; that we can provide the learner with new links to the world instead of continuing to funnel all educational programs through the teacher.[57]

This process he calls "deschooling", and believes it to be essential to any educational revolution. Any political plan proposed for new countries, or for re-organizing present ones, and which does not plan for the deschooling of society is counter-revolutionary and a perpetuation of the status quo. Any plan must also state the guidelines for the educational quality of the society for which the educational changes are proposed. A good educational system, according to Illich, should:

> 1. provide to all who want to learn access to available resources at any time in their lives;
> 2. empower all who want to share what they know with those who want to learn, and
> 3. provide outlets to the public for any who want to challenge or stimulate others.[58]

Basic to his whole plan is the belief that learners should not submit to an obligatory curriculum and that job discrimination cannot be based on the possession of a certificate or diploma.[59] He says that planning for deschooling should begin not with traditional questions of curriculum, but with the question, "What kinds of things and people might learners want to be in contact with in order to learn?" His system would incorporate four basic services, or networks, to people -- and then facilitate the resulting interaction between people and between people and educational materials and facilities.

1. Reference Services to Educational Objects. This would be similar to a library or storeroom where people have access to things or to processes used in formal learning. It could also include access to factories, shops, airports, farm agencies, museums, and various service organizations where they could either observe or participate on a planned basis.

2. Skill Exchanges. People would list their skills and knowledge and the conditions under which they would be willing to share these with others.

3. Peer-Matching. This would be a communications network which allows people to describe the learning activity in which they wish to participate in hopes that others with similar interests will make contact. The learning activity is structured by the learner, rather than by a teacher.

4. Reference Services to Educators-at-Large. Professional educators or paraprofessionals and free-lancers would be available on an open-job market, their skills in competition with others in their profession. Satisfaction of the educational consumer, then, is given a higher priority than presently.[60]

In Summary: Illich is not against guided learning, as long as that learning is perceived as being important by the learner. He feels that his plan would free people throughout all society to learn, without the present constraints and limitations placed there by the school system.

> As citizens have new choices, new chances for learning, their willingness to seek leadership should increase. We may expect that they will experience more deeply both their own independence and their need for guidance. As they are

> liberated from manipulation by others, they should learn to profit from the discipline others have acquired in a lifetime. Deschooling education should increase -- rather than stifle -- the search for men with practical wisdom who would be willing to sustain the newcomer in his educational adventure. As masters of their art abandon the claim to be superior informants or skill models, their claim to superior wisdom will begin to ring true.[61]

SUMMARY

All three of these educational alternatives have direct relevance for educational planning in Papua New Guinea _if_ the Indigenous leaders believe that Independence means self-determination and implement measures to that end. In actuality, four types of education have been discussed in this thesis. All of these can be scaled on an Autonomy Continuum, ranging from colonial determination of educational priorities to self-determination by individuals. The degree of autonomy in determining educational priorities ranges from complete colonial determination for an Indigenous people through progressively more nationally-autonomous decision-making to complete self-determination by the individual.

Obviously, a newly dependent nation cannot jump from the first stage of colonialism to the fourth, that of complete individual autonomy. In fact, the fourth stage, deschooling society, is so controversial that it has not been accepted in its entirety yet by any society. Nevertheless, the social injustices which it is attempting to eliminate are completely relevant to Papua New Guinea, and many of its ideas could be implemented in a newly independent country.

FIGURE 3

DEGREE OF AUTONOMY FOR DECIDING EDUCATIONAL PRIORITIES

No Autonomy	1.	COLONIAL DETERMINATION A western educational model superimposed on an Indigenous society; usually evolved from random education to education "for the good of the Indigene".	PAPUA NEW GUINEA
National Autonomy	2.	NATIONAL DETERMINATION Education for national needs model, administered by Department of Education with village emphasis.	TANZANIA
Regional Autonomy	3.	REGIONAL DETERMINATION Education for regional needs model, but within a national needs context; strong national ideology emphasis.	CHINA
Individual Autonomy	4.	SELF-DETERMINATION Educational webs model; no formal system; based on individual choice and continuous learning.	DESCHOOLED SOCIETY

Tanzanian education, while many changes have been made to correspond with national goals, is still in the traditional mold. It is administered by a government Department of Education, trains teachers in the traditional manner and writes curriculum materials on a national basis. It has attempted to turn the focus of education on the village and is attempting to change attitudes from being self-oriented to community oriented.

China's education has become more revolutionary, trusting more than Tanzania in the local areas to determine educational content --- except for certain over-riding national ideologies and priorities which permeate all decision-making educationally, as well as politically, economically and socially. It has created a broad structure within which educational needs of the community as well as the nation can be met.

The educational path an Independent Papua New Guinea should choose probably would be a combination of the last three, but they, themselves, must choose.

FOOTNOTES

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[3] Denis Goulet, The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in the Theory of Development (New York: Atheneum, 1971), ix.

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[5] Ibid., x.

[6] Julius Nyerere, "The Rational Choice," (Speech given at African Conference date and place unknown, mimeographed), p.2.

[7] Goulet, op. cit., p. 120.

[8] Curtin, op. cit., p. 20.

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[16] Dudley Seers, "The Meaning of Development," International Development Review, Vol. II, No. 4 (December, 1969), p. 2.

[17] Julius Nyerere, "Ujamma -- the Basis of African Socialism" chapter in Knud Erik Svendsen and Merete Teisen, editors, Self-Reliant Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1969), p. 159.

[18] Ibid., p. 165.

[19] Julius Nyerere, "Education for Self-Reliance," chapter in Knud Erik Svendsen and Merete Teisen, editors, Self-Reliant Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1969), p. 223.

[20] Nyerere, "Ujamma...", op. cit., p. 165.

[21] Nyerere, "Education...", op. cit., p. 239.

[22] Ibid., pp. 220-221.

[23] Ibid., pp. 225-229. The following four points are paraphrased from this article.

[24] Ibid., p. 266.

[25] Ibid., pp. 221-222.

[26] Kazim Bacchus, "Education and Change," reprint from New World Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 1-2- (Croptime, 1969), pp. 67-68.

[27] Nyerere, "Education...", op. cit., p. 222.

[28] Ibid., p. 224.

[29] Ibid., pp. 224-225.

[30] Ibid., p. 220.

[31] Ibid., p. 232.

[32] S.N. Eliuff, "Education: A New Era Begins," chapter in Knud Erik Svendsen and Merete Teisen, editors, Self-Reliant Tanzania (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1969), pp. 240-41.

[33] Ibid., p. 242.

[34] Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, China! Inside the People's Republic (New York: Bantam Books, 1972), p. 197.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., p. 198.

[37] Ibid., p. 227.

[38] Bruce Dollar, "Child Care in China," Saturday Review of Education (May, 1973), p. 31.

[39] Jan Myrdal and Gun Kessle, China: The Revolution Continued -- The Cultural Revolution at the Village Level (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p. 152.

[40] Dollar, op. cit., p. 31.

[41] Myrdal, Jan, op. cit., p. 157.

[42] Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, op. cit., p. 212.

[43] Ibid., pp. 219-220.

[44] Ibid., p. 220.

[45] Ibid., p. 227.

[46] Ibid., p. 221.

[47] Dollar, op. cit., p.29.

[48] Ivan Illich, Deschooling Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. xix.

[49] Ibid., p. 10.

[50] Ibid., p. 7.

[51] Ibid., p. 9.

[52] Ibid., pp. 38-39.

[53] Ibid., p. 76.

[54] Ibid., p. 11.

[55] _Ibid._, p. 29.

[56] _Ibid._, p. 39.

[57] _Ibid._, p. 73.

[58] _Ibid._, p. 75.

[59] _Ibid._

[60] _Ibid._, pp. 70-97.

[61] _Ibid._, p. 97.

CHAPTER VI

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

IMPLICATIONS

Since one of the basic assumptions of this thesis was that decision-making must lie in the hands of the people themselves, it would be presumptuous to provide a model of education for Papua New Guinea. In the same vein, Australia's attempt to create an entire educational system which the Indigenes must continue, following Independence, is equally inappropriate.

Nevertheless, from interviews with the Indigenous teachers of the Manus District in Papua New Guinea, from research into alternative educational routes, and from an analysis of the present educational dilemmas, many ideas have emerged. These fall mainly into three basic categories: The Educational System, The Community's School, and The Teacher As An Agent of Social Change. These suggestions are not intended to be all-inclusive, nor are they organized in any hiearchical manner.

The Educational System

1. The educational system must be an outgrowth of and compatible with the national ideology and goals.

2. There must be a clear relationship between programs adopted and the national educational philosophy. Decisions must be guided by this philosophy.

3. Planning must be two-way -- from the top down and the bottom up. It must also be within a model of cooperation and consultation, not with authoritarian directives.

4. The concept of one educational department dispensing all education is too narrow to cope with the task of re-educating a nation. Education must move from uniform procedures to diverse alternatives even within the system chosen.

5. A policy of an open educational system would free education from its narrow concepts. Education must include not only formal education for the young, but continuous education for any who wish to participate.

6. A new role of the Department of Education could be as a communications network that would provide "educational webs", connecting major divisions of government with their educational components. The formal system for the young, which comprises the present Department of Education, would be one department under Social Welfare. Foreign assistance, of whatever type, must also fit within the national framework and be under its direction.

7. Responsibility for education should belong to all -- a personal and community effort in cooperation with the government.

8. Business, industry and social services should be encouraged to conduct their own training programs, perhaps in cooperation with technical schools.

9. Opportunities for learning or for employment should not be determined by a pre-set route, but by one's knowledge, abilities, and skills.

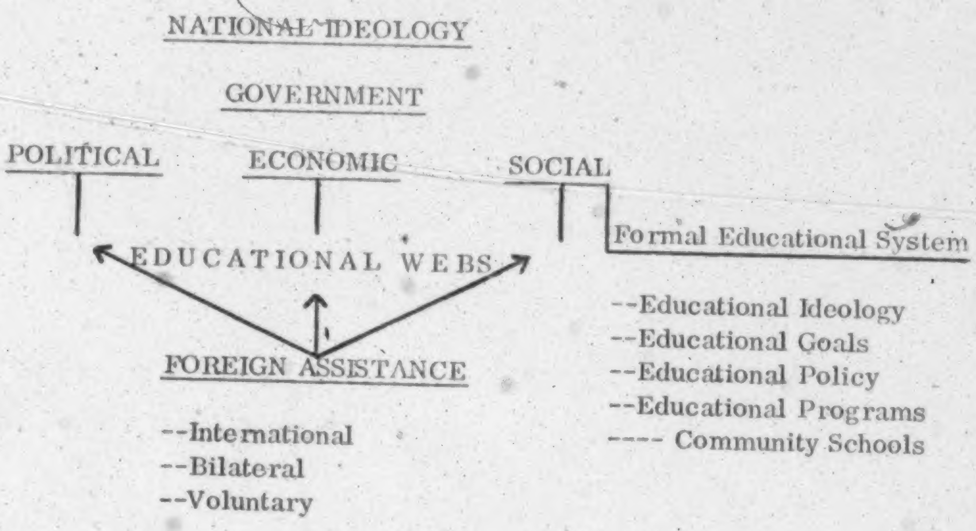
10. Bureaucracy should be reduced as much as possible, once a basic framework has been built. As much educational autonomy as possible must be returned to regions.

11. Non-Indigenous educational advisors or teachers should subscribe to the nation's educational philosophy and be in harmony with the aims of the programs.

12. Budgeting should give preference for creative programs, for self and group initiated projects. Salaries should be paid to teachers and other professionals at a level so as not to create inequalities.

FIGURE 4

AN OPEN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM


NATIONAL IDEOLOGY
GOVERNMENT
POLITICAL
ECONOMIC
SOCIAL
Formal Educational System
EDUCATIONAL WEBS
--Educational Ideology
--Educational Goals
--Educational Policy
--Educational Programs
---- Community Schools
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE
--International
--Bilateral
--Voluntary

The Community's School -- and Learning Activities

Following the logic of Nyerere, an Independent Papua New Guinea would return the educational emphasis from survival in a European-controlled nation to the needs of Indigenes for nationhood. If Papua New Guinea pursues this path of development, it is likely that budget cutbacks will be drastic, and it is likely that an elementary level education only can be provided for most children. Therefore, the main thrust of the formal educational system must be not just "a community school", but the community's school. Responsibility for educating the young should be returned to the local communities within a structure of national ideology, goals, and cooperation. Some implications of this method would be:

1. The elementary level education will be complete in itself as most of those students attending it will continue to work and live in rural areas.

2. The aim of the school would be to help prepare students for their adult roles. Emphasis would be on adaptibility, autonomy and self-learning wherein formal school would only give the student a sense of direction in a life-long process.

3. School would be a continuation and expansion of village socialization, not a break in the socialization process.

4. A basic element of school learning would be attitude formation -- attitudes towards work, learning, one's environment and one's fellow workers. Learning is presently separated from life; it must be integrated with life skills.

There would be an emphasis on cooperative, peer-centered activities as well as activities with others of different ages and roles in the community. The emphasis would be on intra-personal relationships and cooperation, rather than on individualistic performance.

5. Part of the school's curriculum would involve a work component where the work done is not just as an arbitrary requirement, but an essential part of the school. This could be accomplished either through the community structures already established or through establishing a separate work entity -- school farm, plantation, or small manufacturing unit.

6. Arbitrary lines between work play, and study would be lessened. The emphasis would be on learning by doing where learning is taken out of the classroom and into the environment and where learning takes place not in hypothetical situations but in a real situation.

7. Professional barriers would be reduced; the community should be in the school and the school in the community. Village people could teach children, either in the classroom or in the community, and children would perform services and teaching functions in the community -- reciprocal learnings.

8. Curriculum would be determined by local needs and developed in cooperation with community and educational structures. It should be flexible, able to change with changing needs. Educational materials should be designed for regions, in cooperation with the local people. This material should be inexpensive and inter-changeable.

9. Emphasis would change from rote memorization to children participating in their own learning, developing critical abilities and learning problem-solving techniques.

10. English should not be introduced at all at the elementary level, but could be offered as a supplementary activity to those who would like to learn it. The language of instruction could be Pidgin English, with instruction in Indigenous languages, when appropriate. Emphasis should be on learning a subject matter, not in the technicalities of which language to use.

11. Examination would be used only as a method for self-checking or for peer-centered activities, but should not be used as a sorting device for intelligence.

12. Another method must be found to select those who go on to further education, one that does not establish unrealistic expectations, nor give special privilege to a few. China's method -- one of selection by one's peers after several years of cooperative work -- comes closer to eliminating the present difficulties than does Tanzania's method.

13. The school itself should be thought of as a community hall, a social and cultural center with resources, activities, and perhaps a museum which could house traditional artifacts and samples of modern agricultural machines, etc.

14. A community program for pre-schoolers should be established which is the combined effort of the community members and the school. If children did not begin school until eight or nine years, this phase could be

significant in their socialization process.

15. In essence, the school must in total reflect the philosophy of the nation. The school would belong to the people -- not to the government or to the teacher. It must be more than a facade of democracy; it must be a working democracy -- a community working together with government and with a coordinator (the teacher) in order to not only educate the young, but to provide a sense of unity and community.

The Role of the Teacher As An Agent of Social Change

If education is expected to play a leading role in social change in a new nation, then the crucial person in the change process is the teacher. He would be the mechanism between national goals and theory and the practical implementation of these on a village level. In an open, community-centered educational system which has been proposed, and where traditional educational and professional divisions have been loosened, the role of the Indigenous teacher must change from the present authoritarian model to a cooperative model. In the village he must stand as a coordinator between diverse educational activities of the total community.

1. His role could be seen as very similar to that of a community development officer.

2. It would be essential that he have a sense of direction nationally -- a firm understanding of his role in the social change process and a commitment to what is being attempted through the educational process.

3. His attitudes towards people and towards his job would be more crucial than his knowledge. He must have the ability to convey democratic attitudes by actions, as well as speech.

4. His style of teaching must be cooperative, not directive. Vital to this ability is the ability to take criticism and teach others to be constructively critical or analytical. Then he must know how to personally handle the resulting criticism which he might get in such an atmosphere.

5. Teacher training must change its focus from specific educational techniques and methods to techniques of working with people and government. Essential to this ability is for the teacher to know himself and his limitations and to be aware of others' needs and abilities. He needs intra-personal skills -- how to work as a team, how to listen, and how to find and use professional help when needed.

6. The teacher must be willing to de-emphasize profession, as a definition of status, and to drop artificial distinctions between people and their "qualifications". The teacher training institutes should not be training experts; a teacher should not be expected to have all the answers, but needs the know-how of finding answers. The teacher will be in a position of continued learning, as well as the students and the villagers.

7. The training period should be one of stimulation and idea exchange with other people in other professions, as well as their own. Training programs should take place in conjunction with college and university training.

8. Built into the educational system should be periods of time for refresher courses, in-service training programs, and idea exchanges with others in their profession. "Professionalism" should stress cooperative increase in skills and in effectiveness, not in advancing their status over other professions.

9. There should be many roles in the teaching profession for co-workers -- the use of community people and the use of university or high school students during their vacations.

10. The present role of "inspector" could be changed to one of a roving teacher assistant, one who could coordinate activities between schools or be a resource person or facilitator between community teacher and government information centers.

11. Teachers should be trained in the creative use of radio, tape recorders, video-tape, etc. This use would expand the present role of radio as a teacher substitute to an educational tool.

12. The wives or husbands of teachers should be included in any additional educational or training programs provided for the teacher.

In conclusion, there was evidence in the thesis that the mission teachers were very idealistic and dedicated to the idea of service for others, to God, and to Papua New Guinea. They were, however, becoming disillusioned when they realized that they were often just a tool for furthering mission work and not considered to be an important person in their own right. They were willing to sacrifice for the church or for the country -- if they felt that others were sacrificing too. If the teachers begin to realize that their years of studying and of service have only yielded them an inferior position in a European-controlled organization with little hope of future equality with those in power, and if they lose their sense of dedication, then Margaret Mead's theory of "latent deviance" may well operate again. A new direction which captures the dedication and enthusiasm of the Indigenous teacher can be a positive benefit for the nation with the coming of Independence.

CONCLUSIONS

This study began simply. It was the attempt to look at a mission educational system in Papua New Guinea through the perceptions and problems of the Indigenous teacher. It grew out of the social psychological assumption that in order to understand another person's world with a minimum of misconception, it is necessary to look at that world through his eyes. Who is he? What is his cultural and educational background? How did he feel about his educational experience? Did he change as he became educated, and how did he feel about these changes?

Micro-View: This micro-view traced the socialization patterns of the village and of the school. The Manus villagers produced self-confident children who were physically and mentally adept and who were highly motivated for economic and educational success. Manus Island students are in responsible positions throughout all of Papua New Guinea. If success is measured in terms of the proportion of students educated, then one could see the western-oriented school system on Manus Island as being highly successful.

However, socialization of the children was not continuous from village to school. The school was a major factor in breaking down village values and aspirations, and partially, but not completely, instilling western-oriented ones. With a few years of training, sometimes only one, the Manus Indigenous teachers, no longer belonging to the village and not completely accepted in the European world, were sent to teach a western-oriented curriculum in a western-oriented school system. The stresses resulting from the conflicts, personally, socially, and professionally, were evident.

The inherent conflicts between village and modern socialization patterns do not become evident with the teachers because they are among the successes of the educational system. The Manus teacher is still basically religious, idealistic, and striving for recognition and success through his career and through acceptance in the European world. However, a few are beginning to become more secularized and are looking with critical eyes at the discrepancies between their role in society and that of the European. Therefore, it is not the teacher that reveals one of the basic disfunctionalities of the school system, but its "failures" or rejects. In a hypothetical nation, where there are unlimited possibilities for success, the educational system could be labeled as functional; however, as available avenues for employment are being filled, the educational requirements rise. Therefore, the Indigenous people's demands for more education escalate, while the market value of an elementary education decreases. Jobs that required Standard 6 education as a prerequisite a few years ago, now require Form 2 or 3. Since high school openings are limited, the proportion of Standard 6 failures must rise also with rising growth in population. The problem can only increase in magnitude, parallel with rising expectations and Indigenous acceptance of education as "the only way" to economic and social success. Meanwhile, the children attending elementary school have internalized aspirations and goals attainable to only a few, and have placed low value on attainable ones. The conflict between the village and modern values was especially clear in the case of the Standard 6 Leaver, who, like the teacher, does not fit in either world, but has no opportunity to live as a middle-man.

Macro-View: It soon became obvious that the teacher was only a very small factor in an over-all structure. An attempt to analyze him inevitably involved an analysis of the totality of the structure within which he operated. A wholistic approach was necessary, and a macro point of view was adopted which asked four basic questions: Education for What? Education for Whom? Education by Whom? and Education by What Means? It was discovered that the dilemma of education in Papua New Guinea cannot be solved until the first question is answered. In addition, all the other questions hinge upon the answer to the first.

Education for What?: The purposes of education were never clearly defined in Papua New Guinea by the colonial administration because it was impossible to do so. There is a basic conflict between the concepts of autonomous nationhood and colonialism. Therefore, inherent in any colonial educational system are the roots of disfunctionality, even if the colonials were attempting to educate the Indigenes for nationhood. It was discovered that an answer to the first question was of primary importance in a developing country, and confusion over the ultimate purposes of education was the basis of the irrelevance, discontinuity and disfunctionality of an adopted western-educational model. That these disfunctional aspects of education are not unique to Papua New Guinea was confirmed in the discussion of the three educational alternatives and in recent reports from many developing countries.

1. Dual policies of development evolved because the Australians could not separate their vested interests in development from concern and planning for Indigenous development.

2. The basic beliefs and attitudes of those in power towards Indigenous people circumscribed the policies adopted for Indigenous welfare.

3. Colonialism at its best can only be paternalistic because any type of control conflicts with the Indigenous "right" for autonomy and self-determination.

4. In a dual society, the educational system, provided by the dominant group, controls the avenues of "success" and, therefore, defines the aspirations of the Indigenous people, yet controls the fulfillment of them. Indigenous children become re-socialized early in their formal education.

5. Groves' early experiment in Community Schools failed, as subsequently many of the vocational schools will continue to fail, because aspirations were turned toward western-style education and the avenues of success were centered in the formal educational system.

6. Yet, fulfillment of aspirations and high expectations which have been created by the system is becoming more and more difficult, and failures are then created by the same system.

The relationship between educational planning and national goals can be seen in this thesis. Educational planning can only be in relation to something; it does not exist in a vacuum. Unless the question of "Education for What?" can be clearly answered, no other decisions can logically be made, and education is left to wander aimlessly or to be used as a tool for the interests and needs of the dominant culture or of those in privileged positions. China's example, as does Latin America's, shows that the dysfunctional aspects of education are present even in a one-culture society, and that it is not necessarily a racial distinction, but one of power and privilege of a few, as opposed to the majority.

The Adoption of a Policy of Self-Reliance: All three of the educational alternatives discussed in this thesis have direct relevance for educational planning in Papua New Guinea if the Indigenous leaders believe that Independence means self-determination of political, social and economic priorities and if they are prepared to make the hard decisions necessary for implementing a policy of self-reliance.

The policy of self-reliance for Papua New Guinea would involve a major re-evaluation of Australia's role as guardian of the Territory's "interests", as well as those interests of other nations in Papua New Guinea, such as Japan and China. Overall, Australia has not been a harsh task master and can even be seen as operating altruistically, at times, for the "good" of the people. Yet, freedom, as well as poverty, is a relative matter. It is more than absence of cruelty and physical domination, it is the ability to make choices which determine one's own destiny. Re-organization of society requires more than structural changes; it requires a change in attitudes. The Indigenous people must have a radical re-orientation to the worth of their own society and to themselves as individuals. An attitude of self-reliance also implies a willingness to make the necessary sacrifices, as freedom may also involve choosing austerity in place of rapid, but externally controlled, development. And, finally, a policy of self-reliance must realistically include the means for achievement of its new goals.

"Education for What?" cannot be answered until the Indigenous leaders of Papua New Guinea make a conscious decision as to what policy of development they wish to pursue in the future, and the national goals become clarified. There are several reasons[1] why it would seem imperative for the choice to be made in conjunction with the Independence that Australia's new Prime Minister has promised within a year or two.

1. The Indigenous society has not yet been rigidly stratified into

a class structure. Society is fairly homogeneous, yet differential education is creating stratifications within society which can only become more structured within the present educational framework.

2. The elite, educated group is yet small and has nationalistic concerns. Dedication and service to one's country could be a strong motivating factor, especially with the enthusiasm generated by Independence. However, the more they become accustomed to privilege and power, the more difficult it will be to make egalitarian changes.

3. Neo-melanesian (or Pidgin English) is already being used in the House of Assembly by Indigenous leaders. There is a fairly wide-spread knowledge of this language and it would be a useful tool in unifying the people.

4. There is no one dominant tribe in Papua New Guinea, but many small ones. Tribalism, therefore, probably will not produce insoluble divisions within a new nation, although inequalities and jealousies between regions has been one difficulty. A spirit of nationalism could be a positive, unifying factor at Independence, if the people felt that the changes were to benefit all people.

The one question that remains is whether Indigenous leadership has the ability to promote and carry out a policy of self-reliance. China and Tanzania have had an additional asset, a talented, charismatic and moral leader who believes firmly in autonomous nationhood.

The similarity of the historical, social, economic and political backgrounds between Papua New Guinea and Tanzania is striking. Since Tanzania has gained Independence a full decade ahead of Papua New Guinea, it has already been forced to deal realistically with questions concerning its development. While Tanzania has chosen a completely opposite course from other African countries, newly independent, its bold experiment in self-reliance has generated interest and admiration from even its critics. It would seem from examining the development policies of Papua New Guinea that Tanzania's basic assumptions underlying the formation of African socialism and the subsequent policies developed for its people offer a realistic alternative for an Independent Papua New Guinea.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Some of the following ideas were formulated or crystalized during a discussion with Dr. Bacchus upon his return from a trip to Tanzania in June of 1973.

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APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA, CANADA
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT M.A. PROGRAMME

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR INDIGENOUS TEACHERS OF MANUS DISTRICT *
PAPUA NEW GUINEA

#________ Date______________

Name______________ School___________ Type___________ Certification____________ Standards____________ Special Subject(s)________________

SECTION I-A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Age_____ 2. Sex_____ 3. Marital Status_____ 4. Number of Children_____ 5. Village______ 6. Religious Group_____ 7. Whom did you live with when growing up?_____ Describe relationship to you______ 8. Languages you speak___ Father speaks:___ Mother speaks:___ Languages you write:___ Father___ Mother___ 9. Did any of your line go beyond Standard 6?___ if yes, ask information on chart.

Name	Age	Sex	Relation to You	Standards?	Forms	Training-Type of	University?	Where Now?

SECTION II-A. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY: STANDARDS 1 THROUGH 6

1. What school did you attend for Standard 1? (go through chart; repeat questions for each standard)

St,	Year	Age	School	Village	District	Type Brd/Day	Repeat?	Lang,	Type T,	Mark	Remarks;

SECTION II-B. ATTITUDES TOWARDS STANDARDS 1 THROUGH 6 - THINK BACK OVER YOUR STANDARDS ONE THROUGH SIX. I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW YOU FELT ABOUT THEM.

1. Do you remember how you felt on the first day of school? Tell me something about it?____

* To economize on space, this Interview Schedule has been re-typed without leaving the spaces for answers which were in the original Interview Schedule. In addition, Section VII, "Attitudes and Beliefs About Traditional Culture" has been left out for later analysis.

2. Of all the teachers in those standards, whom do you remember most? Why?_____ 3. What subject did you like most?_____ Why?_____ 4. What subject did you like least?_____ Why?_____ 5. Is there anything about Standards 1 through 6 that you would have liked to be different?_____

NOW THINK ABOUT WHAT WENT ON OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM -- PLAY, WORK, FAMILY (for 6-13, ask first about village, then M.)

6. When you came back to school after being home, were you happy or sad? Why?_____ 7. What did you enjoy doing outside the classroom?_____

8. Do you remember ever being very happy about something at school?_____ 9. Do you remember ever being afraid about something at school?_____

10. Do you remember ever being angry or sad about something at school?_____ 11. Would you be happy to have your children go to the same school(s)?___

12. Are things different in the school(s) now than when you were there? How?_____ 13. While going through Standards 1 through 6, who paid for your school fees and your scale? How was the money earned?_____

SECTION III-A. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY: POST PRIMARY

1. Did you attend Form 1? (If yes, repeat questions for each form. If no, go on to Section IV)

St.	Year	Age	School	Village	District	Type Brd/Day	Repeat?	Lang.	Type T.	Mark	Remarks:

SECTION III - B. ATTITUDES TOWARDS POST PRIMARY EDUCATION THINK BACK NOW TO HIGH SCHOOL DAYS. I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW HOW YOU FELT ABOUT SCHOOL THEN. (If no H.S., ask TT)

1. How did you feel about going to high school?_____ 2. How did your family feel about you going to high school?_____ 3. Who paid your high school fees?_____ 4. How did they get the money to pay?_____ 5. How do you think your friends felt who did not get to go to high school? Where are most of them now?_____ 6. Is there anything special you remember about high school -- problems -- accomplishments?_____ 7. What subject did you like most?_____ Why?_____ 8. What subject did you not like?_____ Why?_____.

SECTION IV - A. ADDITIONAL TRAINING, INCLUDING TEACHER TRAINING COURSE

1. What teacher training course have you had? (If no high school, go back to Section III-B and ask these questions)

Year	Age	School Name		Where?	Type?	Language?	Cost	Who Paid?	Obligation?	Remarks:

2. Did you take any classes, correspondence or training before or after your teacher training course?

Year	Age	School, Course Name	Given by Whom?	How Long?	Purpose?	Result?	Cost?	Who Paid?	Obligation?	Remarks:

SECTION IV - B. ATTITUDES TOWARD TEACHING

1. Why did you want to become a teacher?_____ 2. Did someone help you decide?_____ Who?_____ How?_____ 3. How well do you think your training prepared you for teaching?_____ 4. Do you think that teaching for a mission school is different from teaching for an administration school?_____ Why?_____ 5. How do you feel about teaching for a mission/administration school?_____ 6. What do you like about teaching at your school?_____ 7. Are there any disadvantages in teaching at your school?_____ 8. What do you think about the new National Teaching service?_____ Are you a member?_____ 9. Were you rated this year?_____ Last year?_____ 10. What do you think about the Evangelical Alliance and teaching in it?_____ 11. How do you feel about the inspector's visits? Are they helpful to you?_____ 12. Do you think you might apply to change your teaching position sometime?_____ If yes, for what reason?_____

SECTION V. - A. CAREER IN TEACHING (POSTINGS)

1. Please give me the names of the schools where you have taught since you became a teacher.

Year	School	Village	District	Type	Standard Taught	# of Pupils	How Many Standards?	Salary	Remarks:

SECTION V - B. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IN THE CLASSROOM

1. What subject in school is most difficult for Manus children to learn? Why?_____ 2. If a child is having difficulty in a subject, what do you do?_____ 3. What subject is hardest for you to teach? Why? _____ 4. When you are having a problem in teaching, where do you go for extra help and ideas?_____ 5. What do you think about the teaching materials you have to work with?_____ 6. Is there anything you would like to change -- add or subtract -- in the syllabus? _____ 7. Do you think that the Standard 6 examination is a good way to decide on who goes to high school?_____ 8. Do you think the examination influences the way you teach your subjects?_____ 9. If New Guinea becomes independent, what language should be the national language? Why?_____ 10. In what language should school subjects be taught? Why?_____ 11. Should Pidgin or "Tok Ples" be used sometimes in school?_____ 12. Do you as a teacher have any special kinds of difficulties when teaching in English?_____ 13. Do parents come to see you about their children's school work or behavior?_____ 14. Should parents have a say in how a school is run?_____ 15. What are your main discipline problems in the school? How are they handled?_____ 16. When a child goes back to the village after Standard 6, does he have any special difficulties?_____ 17. Not many Standard 6 leavers are attending the vocational school in Manus. Why do you think this is so?_____ 18. Do you think it is as important for girls to be educated as boys?_____

SECTION VI — GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARD BEING EDUCATED

1. Does being educated make you feel differently about your parents or your family than you did before?_____ (a) Do they feel (act) differently about you now?_____ 2. Does being educated make you feel differently about village people and village life than you did before?_____ (a) Do they feel (act) differently towards you now?_____ 3. Do you send money or assistance to your relatives?_____ Give me an example in the last year._____ 4. Does having education create any special problems for you — or for someone you know?_____ 5. Do you think you live (or think) differently now than your friends who have not gone beyond Standard 5 or so?_____ 6. There is much discussion about Independence or Self-Government for New Guinea. Do they mean something different?_____ 7. Are you in favor of self-government?_____ 8. Is there anything that must happen in New Guinea before Self-government can come? If so, do you think it is happening?_____

APPENDIX II

SAMPLES OF INDIGENOUS FRUSTRATION CONCERNING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INDIGENES AND THE EUROPEANS

1. The first sample was written by an old man from Manus Island voicing his disillusionment with the white man's attempts to bring understanding to the Indigenous people. (From Rowley, The New Guinea Villager, pp. 166-167.)

> Some of our men have been to school with the mission. We were looking for a road and we thought we had found it. But the road was not straight. They taught us only tokboi. The road turned and brought us back to ourselves, our own tokboi. They did not show us the straight road that would lead us on to your knowledge, your ideas, your language.
>
> They showed us a picture of God in a book. They did not show us God...God has waited and waited for you white men to teach us. But you have not been sorry for us (sympathetic, friendly). You have hidden your knowledge. Now God is sorry for us and is sending us a little understanding.
>
> Another white man...would have been afraid that we would get a little understanding. We would no longer be his dog, his pig. Now we are the same as his pick, his shovel, his machine. We work for him and he gets the pay. We are just pigs, dogs.
>
> If only you would not hide your tingting from us, we could be brothers...You and I and my children would sit down at one table, sleep in one house. We would not have to go away while you eat...
>
> If the Germans had taught us, we would now be the same as you. If the Japanese had taught us we would now be brothers. If the English had taught us we would now have one fashion. But no, you hide your tingting. You are not sorry for us. We are your dogs, your pigs. We work for you, we are your pick, your shovel, your car, your engine ...You do not want us to understand. One line grows up, works and dies. Another comes, works, and follows it to the grave. Another, another, and another. But when will the white man disclose to us one of his ideas?
>
> Our minds, brother, are like a worm under the earth, trying to find a way to the surface. We go on and on, and we are just about to come up when the white man says No, and blocks the way. We go back. We make another tunnel. Again we work on and on. Again we are just about

to find a way out when the white man says No, no good you have understanding, and blocks the way.

Brother we are all men. One God above made us all. It is not God's will that those of his children who have understanding should hide it from those who have not. If only you would open your minds to us, we could be brothers. We could sit down together like white and black America.

Brother, these are not my thoughts alone. All of Manus is talking thus.

If the white man would only open his hand, we would be brothers. But he keeps it tightly shut. He has locked all his knowledge in a box, and where are we to find the key?

2. The second example was written by a young man also from Manus Island. He completed primary education in a village school, went to high school in Rabaul, and recently graduated from the University of Papua New Guinea. He has written numerous short stories and two plays which have been performed in Australia. Many of his poems and stories are published, and this poem won the 1969 Waigani poetry competition. (From Tawali, "Signs in the Sky".)

THE BUSH KANAKA SPEAKS Kumalau Tawali

The kiap shouts at us
forcing the veins to stand out in his neck
nearly forcing the excreta out of his bottom
he says: you are ignorant.

He says: you are ignorant,
but can he shape a canoe,
tie a mast, fix an outrigger?
Can he steer a canoe through the night
without losing his way?
Does he know when a turtle comes ashore
to lay its eggs?

The kiap shouts at us

forcing the veins to stand out in his neck
nearly forcing the excreta out of his bottom
he says: you are dirty.

He says we live in dirty rubbish houses,
Has he ever lived in one?
Has he enjoyed the sea breeze
blowing through the windows?
and the cool shade under the pandanus thatch?

Let him keep his iron roof, shining in the sun,
cooking his inside, bleaching his skin white.

The kiap shouts at us
forcing the veins to stand out in his neck
nearly forcing the excreta out of his bottom,
He says: you'll get sick.

He says: you'll get sick
eating the fly ridden food.
Haven't I eaten such food all my life,
and I haven't died yet?
Maybe his stomach is tender like a child's
born yesterday. I'm sure he couldn't
eat our food without getting sick.

Every white man the gorment sends to us
forces his veins out shouting
nearly forces the excreta out of his bottom
shouting you bush kanaka.

He says: you ol les man!
Yet he sits on a soft chair and does nothing
just shouts, eats drinks, eats, drinks,
like a woman with a child in her belly.
These white men have no bones.
If they tried to fight us without their musiket
they'd surely cover their faces like women.

3. The third sample is from a novel written by a European, but who is speaking for the revolutionary Indigene. (Downs, The Stolen Lands. p. 207.)

You have to look out of our eyes into eyes like yours to see the things that we see. You know what we see everyday of our lives? I'll tell you. Sometimes we see so much stinking insincerity that we wonder why the almighty does not strike you down. Sometimes we see hate -- we don't mind hate because we know it is the daughter of fear. We see contempt, loathing disgust and laughter. If we are good at a particular thing, then you assume that we have been well taught and take the credit for yourselves. If we are good at too many things then it disturbs you -- then you think we must be freaks. You would really love us forever if we stayed in clouts of tapa cloth and you could ponder over our primitive customs. Why in God's name did you ever interfere with us? To spread his name? No. You just can't bear to leave us alone. We have to improve and reproduce ourselves -- like better kinds of cattle. You want to breed us up in your image. You have lands of your own -- thousands of bloody dry, hard empty acres. But you want our land...White men have a common disease. It's a kind of hunger for desolate strange places that you feel have to be built up and made prosperous in your white fashion and change the customs of the strange people by teaching white customs. (White men) feel they have a divine mission to conquer us with this new compassion. The most terrible thing that my people and all other wounded people have to see in the eyes of the white men -- the most deadly lethal thing which castrates our manhood to see in your eyes is -- your precious ...pity.